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DISSERTATION FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY.

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# ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE ACTIVITY OF THE ACHAEMENID PERSIANS IN GREECE.

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C O N T E N T S



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# INTRODUCTION



The Achaemenids were to the Greeks the supreme examples of power and wealth. Their political power extended to the confines of the known world and their wealth according to the Greek historians was unlimited. Towards the end of the fifth century and during the fourth they influenced Greek political life through their financial intervention. In the chapters that follow we shall discuss what is known as to the archaeological remains of the Achaemenids in Greece, because apart from Burns historical study, The Greeks and the Persians, there has been no comprehensive study on this subject. Specific items of Persian culture have of course been dealt with by Scholars. Boardmann has discussed Persian gems from Greece in his monumental work, Greek Gems and Finger Rings; the Kamini stele has been published by Bivar;[1] the marble throne on the Akropolis with the figure in Persian dress has been dealt with by Richter;[2] the impact that particular Persian customs have had some Greek culture have been discussed by Gow[3], Thompson[4], Broneer[5] and Bovon[6].

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1. 'A Persian Monument at Athens and its connections with the Achaemenid State Seals', Asia Major, Henning Memorial Volume.

2. 'The Marble Throne on the Akropolis and its Replicas.' A.J.A. 58. 1954 p.271-276

3. 'Notes on the Perse of Aeschylus' J.H.S. XLVIII, 1928. p.133-157

4. 'The Persian Spoils in Athens', The Aegean and the Near East Studies, Presented to Hetty Goldmann, New York, 1956. p.281.

5. 'The Tent of Xerxes and the Greek Theatre', University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, I. p.305-312.

6. 'La Representation des Guerriers Perses et la notion de barbare dans le 1ere moitie du 5eme siecle', B.C.H. LXXXVII, 1963 p 579-602

We propose to explore some of the evidence derived from textiles, carpets, metalwork and coins, though to a certain extent we have been guided by the material to be found in Greece.

Geographically we have limited ourselves to the boundaries of modern Greece excluding Cyprus and have dealt with certain sites which have been governed by Persian dignitaries; we shall also try and see the reasons why they were chosen. Historically we have confined ourselves to the fifth and fourth century B.C. until the battle of Granicus and Issus.

One further point needs to be made before we proceed. This is the meaning of the term "Achaemenid Art". Achaemenid art is an art developed in the court of the Persian Monarch. It is a composite art, in that the Great King welcomed people from all over his empire to contribute to its formation. Paradoxically, its originality and unity lies exactly in the diverse origines of its component parts. Because it was an artificial art form, having been created for the glory of the Great King, it was in a sense sterile. Decorative rather than organic, principles govern the representation and a marked uniformity exists between applied and major arts. Its death was, therefore, inherent in its origins. The term"Achaemenid Art" then designates not only a style but also a specific geographical area and a historical period in which such art is found. A further distinction should be made between the art of the 5th century and that of the 4th; because in the last period this composite art in turn influences the areas from which it originally derived.

# SOME GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CANAL OF XERXES, EION AND DORISCUS.

From 513 B.C. till the battle of Platae, Macedonia and Thrace remained allied to the Persian cause. Doriscus was the seat of the Persian satrap. Eion a Persian fortress and the canal of Xerxes a great engineering work whose purpose has not, as yet, been fully understood. In this chapter we, therefore, propose to discuss the topographical and geographical features of these three sites and if possible to assess the reasons why they were chosen by the Persians as administrative centres.

## The Canal of Xerxes.

Amongst the topics that we shall discuss in this section will be the site of the city of Sane and that of the tomb of Artachaees and naturally the canal itself.

Athos or Acte is the eastern chersonese of Chalcidice. Acte was the actual name of the peninsula;[1] Athos of its highest peak, which was dedicated to Zeus Athoos.[2] The Athos peninsula ends towards the Singitic Gulf in the Nympheon promontory and towards the Strymonic in that of Akrothoos. On the side towards Athos, which now the Persians proposed to make

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1. Thucidides, Loeb Classical Library IV, 109. Diodorus Siculus Loeb Classical Library Book XIII 68.

2. Aeschylus Agamemnon, 284.

insular, were the cities of Dion, Olophyxos Akrothoon, Thyssos and Cleones, Sane was situated on the isthmus.[1] Proulaka is the modern name of this neck of land, a reference to the canal in front of Athos. Three years before the Persian invasion, that is in 483 B.C. work started at Mt. Athos for the opening of a canal that would enable the Persian fleet to cross safely. The isthmus was twelve stades[2] long and ought to have been wide enough for two triremes to be rowed abreast.[3] The ground of the isthmus was divided into sections and each nation was alloted one part. Most of the nations engaged in the work made the cutting at the top, of the same width as that at the bottom, which caused the sides to fall. The Phoenicians were the only ones who took a trench double the width prescribed for the finished canal and dug in a slope.[4] The land of the isthmus is composed of tertiary sands and marls which explains the difficulty they had in excavating the canal. Herodotus describes the banks of the isthmus as not too high.[5] Spratt[6] measured fifty one feet above sea level while Leake[7] remarks

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1. Herodotus, Historiae, Oxford Edition, Book VII 22,3
2. ibid VII 22
3. ibid VII 24
4. ibid VII 23
5. ibid VII 22
6. T. Spratt "Remarks on the Isthmus of Mt. Athos" Journal of the Royal Geographical Society XVII 1847 p.147.
7. W. M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, London 1835 III Chapter XXIV p.143

that the highest point was "scarcely a hundred feet above sea level". Athough the width of the isthmus is twelve stades,[1] the canal was longer,[2] as a result of its being slightly oblique to the direct distance across the isthmus.[3] (Plates1, 2). According to Demetrius of Scepsis[4] the canal would have been dug for ten stades but then a bank of rock one stade long would have made the work impossible. Unfortunately he does not say on which side of the canal this rock was situated. An oblique canal, noticed by all travellers, was dug probably in order to avoid this impediment. Both Leake and Spratt found traces of the canal throughout the isthmus, in a series of ponds which differed in depth and width.[5] As we have pointed out above we hear from Herodotus that the canal ought to have been wide enough for two triremes to be rowed abreast.[6] The trireme had an overall breadth of 5 metres while its overall length was 35 metres;[7] the oars varied between 4.4 metres and 4.16 metres.[8] For two triremes to cross through the canal abreast if hauled from the banks, a minimum width of 10 metres should have been necessary. The width of the

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1. Hdt. VII 22
2. Le Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque de la Grece, Paris 1842, Tame II, p.149
3. Spratt, op.cit, P.147.
4. Strabo, Geography, Loeb Classical Library, Book VII, 35
5. Leake, op.cit, p.144. Spratt, op.cit, p.147; (2-6 or 8 feet deep and 60-90 feet broad)
6. Hdt, VII 24
7. J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, Greek Oared Ships, Cambridge 1968, p.285
8. ibid, p.289

Tome II. pl. 5.

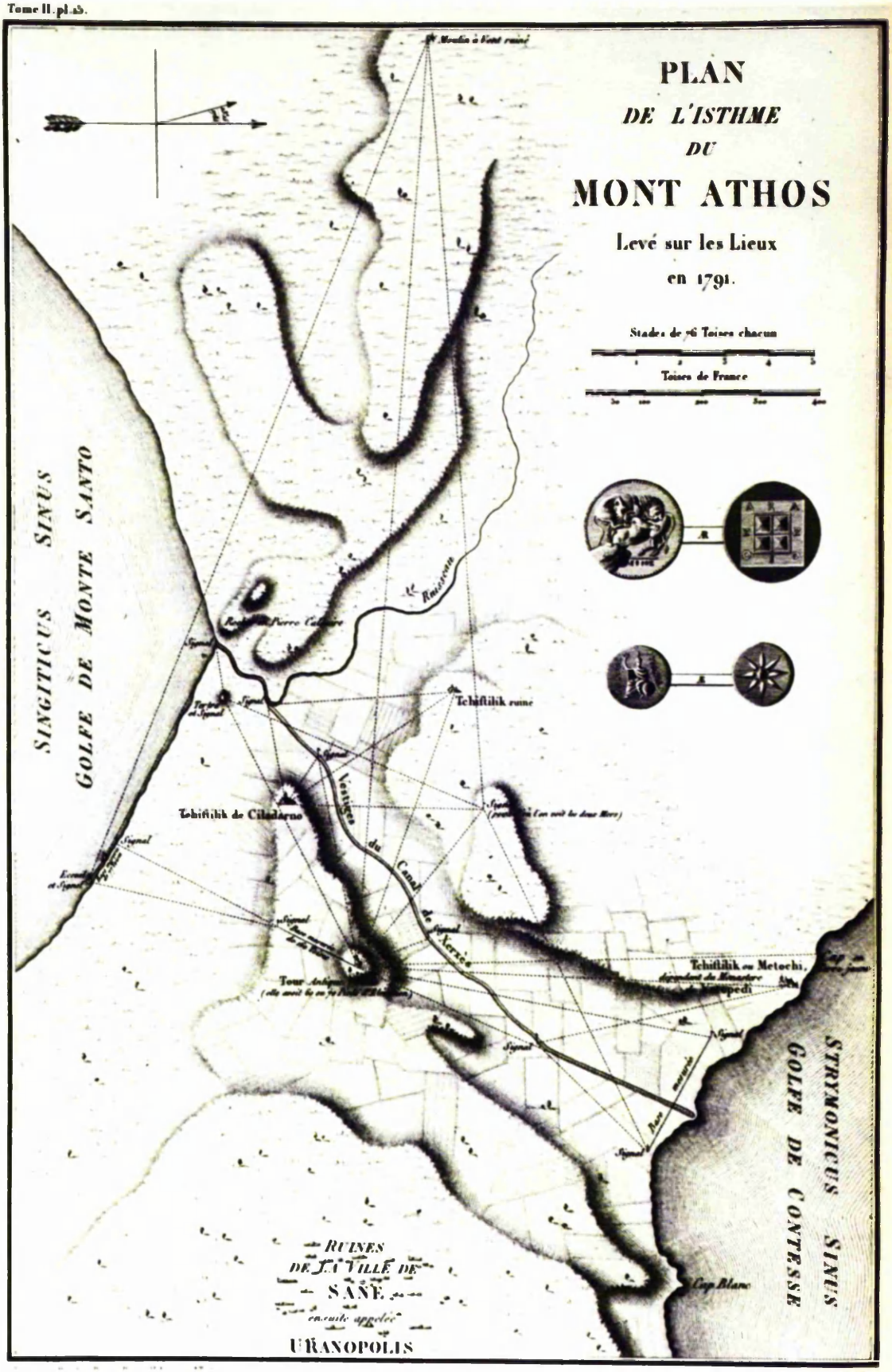
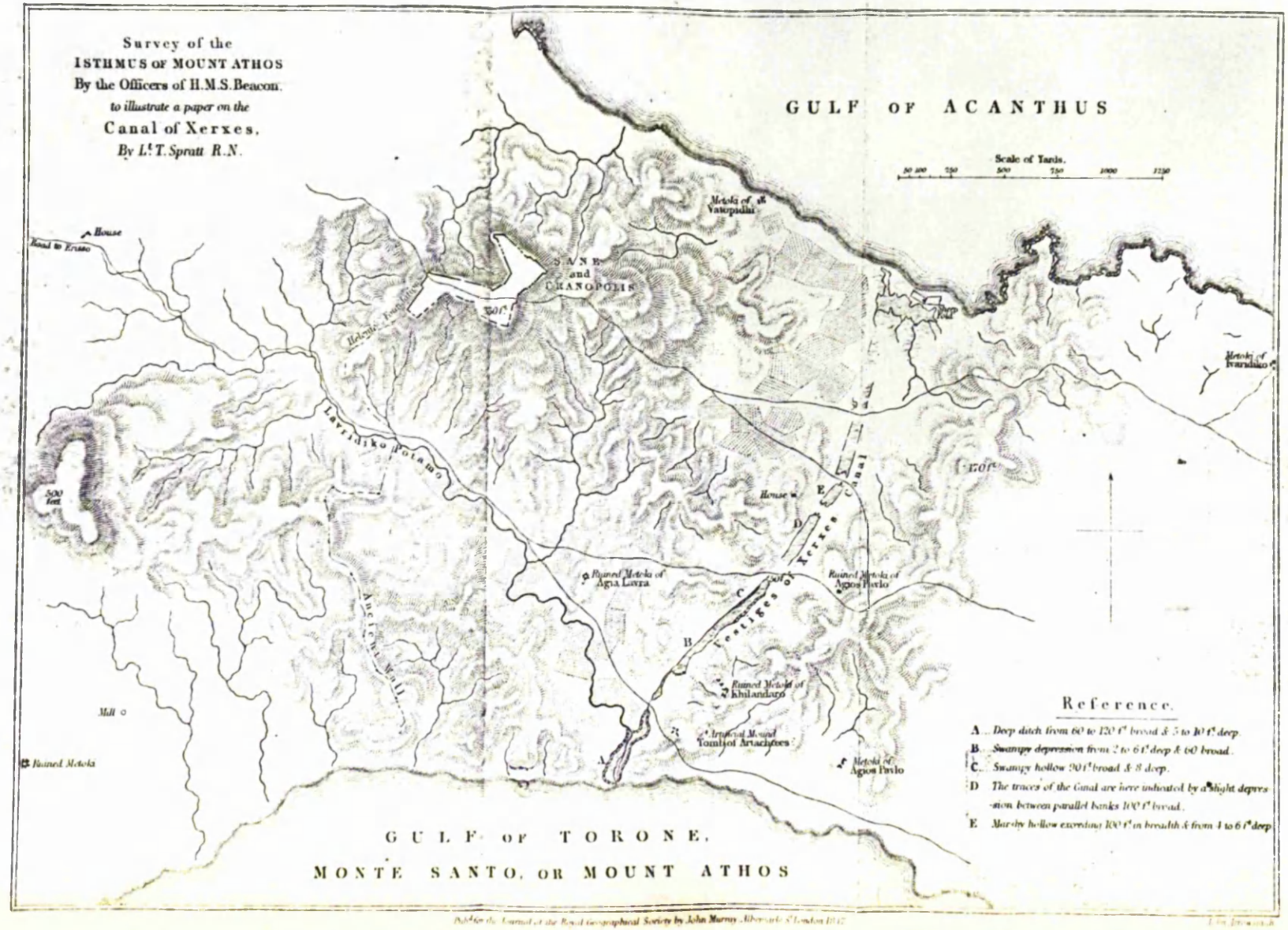



PLATE I

# PLATE 2




Published for the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society by John Murray, Albemarle St. London 1847.

canal ought to have been over twenty eight metres, if the vessels were to be rowed. Demetrius of Scepsis thought that the width of twenty five metres was possible.[1] The measurements of modern geographers fluctuate between 14 metres and 20 metres wide.[2] If however, we take into account the topographical changes which are bound to have occured in the course of the centuries these measurements do not fall far short of the theoretical width of twenty eight metres.

At present the canal can be easily traced on the ground. The modern road which leads from Nea Roda to Tripiti runs parallel to the canal for a distance, but approximately two hundred and fifty metres before Tripiti the road cuts through the canal. Two rocky hills embrace the southern extremity of the canal which ends at a sandy bay, protected by the island of Ammouliane, which lies before it, and thus provides a safe anchorage. Between these two hills there is a pool in a ditch which narrows as one goes westwards and is joined by the rivulet of Ieryssos, along whose bed the canal probably passed for two hundred metres. At this point the writer saw seven marble stones in ashlar masonry, and the previous year

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1. Strabo VII 35.

2. Spratt, op.cit, p.147. Leake, op.cit, p.144.

Dr. A. D. H. Bivar was able to photograph nine, some of which by his kind permission I reproduced here on Plate 3. No other stones could be found after the last on the left-hand side of the photograph. The stone work was laid in two directions. On the edge of the canal the stones seem to have been set horizontally. The two upper layers were built of oblong slabs of unequal length, then followed a layer of thinner slabs as can be seen from the photograph. The remaining six stones are arranged vertically to the others and are smaller.[1] Below them we can just see a thinner layer of stone masonry. It seems possible that the embankment was built with alternating thicker and thinner stones. Three more marble stones were found by the writer on the northern end of the canal but on its eastern side. We are informed by Leake[2] that "at the northern end there is a large pond,[3] divided only from the sea by a narrow ridge of sand. On either side of this pond are seen foundations of Hellenic walls. Those to the eastward are at some little distance from the pond but on the opposite side they are close to the edge of it". The stones that we saw and those mentioned by Leake must obviously come from the same place, probably the canal.

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1. Dr. A. D. H. Bivar also kindly provided me with the measurements; Stones: A 100cm, B 57 x 70, C 110 x 63, D 86 x 58, E 63 x 99, F 68 x 86.
2. Leake op.cit, p.144
3. Now, this whole area is a big marshy lagoon.

PLATE 3

On its northern side the canal ended in the bay of Plati, a natural harbour protecting the assembled ships from southern and south-western gales. During the 18th century this bay was a safe shelter for pirates,[1] and a pirate was able to escape the Turkish patrols by dragging his ship over the peninsula. During the Greek war of independance, Greek kleftes used the same device.[2] We, therefore, see that the canal was dug in a peninsula which provided good anchorage on both its northern and southern sides. Apparently the canal was never used after the Persian wars and in 411 B.C. the fleet of Epikles was lost on the rocks of Mt. Athos;[3] 411 B.C. could, therefore, be taken as the terminus anti quem of the canal. Choiseul-Gouffier[4] rightly remarks that if the Athos Greeks had kept the canal

> " il aurait ete cependant pour eux un grand moyen de prosperite; leur pays seroit devenu l'entrepot des productions de la Thrace, et la route habituelle du riche commerce de toutes ces cotes".

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1. M.E.M. Cousinery, Voyages dans la Macedoine, II,p.154,p.157.
2. B. Nicolaidy, La Turquie Contemporaine, II, Paris 1859, p.28
3. Diodorus Siculus, Loeb Classical Library, XII, 41,2
4. Choiseul-Gouffier, op.cit, p.152

To the Greeks who refer to it[1], this useful work was probably one more example of oriental extravagance. Juvenal[2] came to doubt its existence and until the 19th century this scepticism prevailed.

Sane

Three hypothesis have been put forward about the site of Sane.

There are three hills on the eastern side of the southern end of the canal (Plate 4). The middle of these three according to Leake[3] have a flat summit, apparently artificial, on the slopes of which towards the canal are foundations containing several large squared masses of stone and a block of white marble. The third height is formed entirely of a mass of stones and mortar the remains of some ancient building. He, therefore, suggests this site is that of ancient Sane.

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1. Thucidides IV, 109,3. Plato,Laws. III, 699. Lysias, II, 99. Isocrates, IV 89.

2. Juvenal, Sat, X,V, 173. Pierre Belon du Mans, Les Observations de plusiers Singularitez et choses memorables trouvees en Grece, Asie, Udee, Egypte, Arabie et autre pays estranges redigees en trois liures. Paris 1553, Chapitre XXXV, p.34. Chapitre XXXIX.p.37.

3. Leake, op.cit. p.144

PLATE 4

This site would conform to the description of Thucidides.[1] "Sane, an Andrian colony close to the canal facing the sea which is towards Euboea." The gulf which faces Euboea is the Singitic Gulf. At present the modern road to Tripiti crosses these hills. While walking in those grounds we found a great many pottery sherds, but we have been unable to locate the stones mentioned by Leake. Strabo[2] while he mentions the other cities of Acte he does not do so with Sane. Moreover, he informs us that the territory of Acanthus extended to the Singitic Gulf. It is probable that by Strabo's time Sane had fallen into oblivion and its territory was engulfed by that of the city of Acanthus. Both Leake[3] and Choiseul-Gouffier[4] are inclined to place Uranopolis on the site of Sane. The latter, however, places Sane-Uranopolis on the north-eatern side of the canal far from the isthmus. (Plate 1). Finally Spratt[5] found on the west side of the canal the ruins of a city which he suggests as the site of Uranopolis. He

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1. Thucidides, IV, 109,3.
2. Strabo, Geography, Loeb Classical Library, VII fig.33, fig.35.
3. Leake, op.cit, p.149.
4. Choiseul-Gouffier, op.cit, p.152.
5. Spratt, op.cit, p.148.

describes these as follows:

> " These ruins are situated on the summit of a hill about a mile westward of the canal and consist of the walls of an Hellenic fortress, the foundations of the entire circuit of which are visible above the ground and at its N. face, near the foundations of a round tower, two or three courses of the squared smooth blocks of limestone of which it was built appear above the ground. The enclosed area is strewed with broken fragments, but no buildings are visible. Crossing the low hills to the south of the fortress is a long low wall with towers at intervals: it is evidently an ancient construction, though composed of small unhewn stones and appears to have been a line of demarcation as well as a defence between the territory of the cities within the promontory and those without, of which the nearest was Acanthus".

He suggests further that

> " the territory of the city must necessarily have extended over the low ground much within the canal, for any extension to the westward would approximate too closely on the Acanthian territory and besides, the

range of hills situated between them, presents a natural boundary between the cities and territory of the peninsula and continent"[1]. In his map (Plate 2) he places Sane and Uranopolis on the same site. As we saw three sites are suggested by the different explorers. Leake suggests the central hill on the southern end of the canal. This site would answer to Thucidides description and would seem the most probable. Choiseul-Gouffier places it on the north-eastern side of the canal, and finally Spratt proposes a site on the south-western side of the canal. At the moment any definite conclusion concerning the site of Sane can not be reached.

Mound of Artachaees.

Artachaees together with Bubares were in charge of the works for the canal at Athos[2]. He was a man of the Achaemenid family, much respected by Xerxes. Artachaees happened, however, to die while Xerxes was at Acanthus, and the latter had him buried with all pomp and ceremony. The whole army helped to raise a mound over his grave. Artachaees was so much appreciated by the Acanthians that the people of this city offer to him sacrifices as to a demi-god and call upon his name in prayer[3].

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1. ibid, p.147
2. Hdt. VII 22.
3. ibid. VII, 177.

Two hypothesis have been put forward concerning the mound of Artachaees. On the eastern side of the canal there are number of tumuli and Spratt suggested that the tumulus of Artachaees should be between the metoki of Khilandaro and that of Agios Pavlos. This small mound stands on the summit of a ridge which appears to be artificial.[1] Tozer[2], however, argues that the tomb of the noble Persian was situated on the N.W. side of the canal. He writes

> " When approaching from the direction of Sane the neighbouring village of Ierysso which lies on the other side of some low hills to the north west, I passed a large and high mound which at first I took for the Acropolis, until the real Acropolis came into view with the remains of Hellenic walls on one of its sides. I have little doubt that this was the tomb of Artachaees".

This tumulus should be searched for in the territory of Acanthus, which probably extended up to the western bank of the canal. The writer's examination was not sufficient to permit her to speak positively on this point. From Herodotu' narrative, however, we can assume that this tumulus probably lies on the western bank of the canal, near Acanthus.

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1. Spratt, op.cit p.149

2. H. F. Tozer, The Highland of Turkey, I Chapter VI, p.128

Eion.

The fortress of Eion was under the command of the Persian Boges[1] and was one of the places chosen for the provision of dumps, together with Leuce Acte, Tyrodiza and Doriscus.[2] It was situated on the Strymon, twenty five stades from the city of Amphipolis.[3] The Persian fortress probably overlooked the river, for we are informed that when Kimon besieged it in 476 B.C. Boges threw "the silver" from the fortress wall into the river and then set the whole structure on fire.[4] Pritchett has shown that the classical Eion was probably on the same site as Byzantine Eion-Anaktoroupolis. There he picked up many black-glazed pottery sherds.[5] In its southern wall can be seen four large stones which seem to be in situ and may therefore, belong to the classical wall. Other pieces of large stone masonry can be seen in the Byzantine wall and others are scattered about. An aerial photograph shows that the river used to flow only a few hundred metres from the present remains (Plate 5).

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1. Hdt. VII 107
2. Hdt. VII 25,2
3. Thucidides IV 102,4
4. Hdt. VII 107
5. K. Pritchett, Studies in Ancient Greek Topography, Chapter II, p.40.

PLATE 5

Doriscus.

Doriscus was probably made into a Persian stronghold by Darius[1] and remained one until the death of Mascames. It is not certain whether it ever became a member of the Athenian confederacy. Doriscus is the name given to a strip of land through which flows the Hebrus and the same name was given to the fortress that was built on this site. It is here that Xerxes proposed to number his army, while the ships were anchored at the neighbouring beach of Zone and Sale.[2] In order to reach Doriscus the fleet had to pass the gulf of Melas and find shelter behind the promontory of Sarpedon, dominated by the homonymous mountain.

The Hebrus flows from Mt. Haemus and on its downward course brings sands to the sea. According to Choiseul-Gouffier[3] "Ces sables ont presque entierement comble le golfe au fond duquel se jette le fleuve en formant une ile considerable et en exhaussant continuellement le sol d'un vaste bassin appele par les anciens le lac de Stentoris". On the north of Mt. Sarpedon and on a

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1. Hdt VII. 59,105
2. Hdt VII. 58,59
3. Choiseul-Gouffier, op.cit. p.108

peninsula is the old settlement of Aenos.[1] Viquesnel[2] remarked in 1868 that in order to disembark or unload at Aenos the sea must be very calm. The coast did not therefore offer good anchorage, which can explain why Xerxes ordered the ships to be hauled further west. Grisbach[3] thought that Doriscus must be at the island of the Maritza delta "ihre Lage, ihre Grosse und ihre ebene Oberfläche entstrechen genau die Beschreibung welche die alten Schriftsteller von Doriscus entworfen haben". The area of the Hebrus delta has changed since antiquity. Viquesnel[4] repots that the gulf extended between Aenos, Feredjik (Doriscus-Traianoupolis) and Kechan. These areas are now low meadows strewn with water ponds. While visiting the Doriscus plain he noticed " Les ruines qui sont sur le sommet de la colline ont servi de têkê turc. Nous ne saurions dire s'il existait autrefois une citadelle en ce point".[5] It is believed that Traianoupolis was built on the site of Doriscus.

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1. Choiseul-Gouffier op.cit p.107.
2. A. Viquesnel Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe, Paris 1868 Tome I, p.268.
3. A. Grisebach Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa, Goettingen 1841, p.157.
4. Viquesnel, op.cit p.298.
5. Viquesnel, op.cit, p.298

In the summer of 1971, the writer visited Doriscus. After passing the modern village of Doriscus which lies on the left-hand side of the modern road, as one comes from Alexandroupolis, and proceeds for another two kilometres and then turns right into a country road. Approximately ten kilometres from there one reaches a flat area which is surrounded on three sides by hills and in front of which passes a river and the modern railway line. The S.E. corner of this compound which seems to be artificial is at a few metres distance from the lines of the railway. On this side a cut in the mound could be seen and we were told by some farmers that dogs from time to time penetrate this opening which made them suppose that the mound was hollow. Towards its centre walls, which they call kaledes in this area, could still be seen. They could be the walls of the fortress noticed by Viquesnel. On top of the mound is flat and a great many pottery sherds are scattered, some black-glazed. We were informed that in this area, and especially near the opening, villagers often found coins and stamped amphora handles. They told us that the coins belong to Alexander the Great, but then in Macedonia and Thrace everything belongs to Alexander the Great.

Conclusion.

During the sixth and fifth century B.C. the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace appears to have been the Strymon.[1] Thrace was evidently not a kingdom before 480 B.C. since nothing is heard of it in the time of Xerxes. Under the reign of Amyntas I (540 - 498 B.C.) relations were established between Macedonia and Southern Greece as well as with Persia. It is very probable that relations between the Sythians and the northern Greeks date from this period as well. Amyntas received Darius after the latters Sythian campaign and allied himself to the Persians. His daughter Gygaia married Bubares.[2]

In the Old Persian inscriptions we find the Skudra satrapy.[3] It has been though that Skudra refers to Thrace and possibly Macedonia[4] or just Macedonia.[5] From the context it is not clear to which area it refers. We would like to suggest that Skudra refers to Thrace and that while Thrace was a Persian satrapy, Macedonia just as Thessaly was only allied to the Persian cause. Furthermore, we would like to suggest that during the war the Athos canal was the strategic centre of the Persians in Greece.The reasons that lead us to this assumption are the following. Doriscus and Eion are within Thrace, since Thrace as we mentioned before started from the Strymon. Doriscus was probably the seat of the Persian satrap, in charge of the Skudra

1. A. Baschmakoff, La Synthèse des Périples Pontiques, Le Périple de Skylax de Caryande Paris 1948.

2. Hdt. V, 17,18.

3. R. G. Kent, Old Persian Inscriptions, 1953 Darius Susae line 29 Darius Naqš - i - Rustam line 29, Xerxes Persepolis h.

4. R.G. Kent Old Persian Texts, J.N.E.S. II. p.305

5. Bartholomae, Alt-Iranisches Wörterbuch; Skudra

satrapy.

Herodotus[1] refers to Mascames who was in charge of Doriscus as hyparch while Boges bears no title. Doriscus was an important site for it controlled both the Hebrus traffic and that of the sea. The area on the east of the Hebrus was probably controlled by the Hellespontine satrapy. Kypsela, the capital of the Thracian kingdom did not become prominent before the end of the fifth century B.C.[2] Eion lay on the eastern side of the Strymon and therefore, inside the Thracian satrapy and was thus the last outpost of the Persians in Greece. Eion controlled both Amphipolis and the sea traffic; for Amphipolis occupied a situation conspicuous both from the sea and the inner country, and was a place where many roads converged, whence originated the name Nine Ways, which the place probably bore when possessed by the Edoni. Furthermore, by having a garrison near the Macedonian frontier, the Persians could control the movements of their allies. Eion, however, was not well equipped as a naval base. This is why we find Thucidides in Thesos[3] during the Peloponesian war. It is the canal of Athos that was the real naval base of the Persians, for Doriscus was too far from mainland Greece and Eion as we have seen

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1. Hdt. VII, 105

2. B. Head, Historia Numorum, London 1963, p.257

3. Thucidides, op.cit, IV, 108.7. A.W. Gomme, A Historical Commentary on Thucidides, III p.586

was inconvenient as a base because the harbour was small.

Athos however, provided many advantages

a) it had a safe anchorage

b) it was nearer to mainland Greece and near the Persian garrison, now that the canal was excavated.

c) it was inhabited by southern Greek settlers, and through close contact with the settlers those stationed at Athos would receive information about the mainland

d) although Chalcidice did not belong to the Macedonia the Persians could always expect help from their allies

e) as Chalcidice was rich in wood the Persians could use the wood for the reparation of their fleet.

We therefore, see that the canal apart from being an important engineering work was probably used as the centre for the operations during the Persian Wars.

PERSIAN COIN HOARDS FROM GREECE.

When Darius inaugurated his gold coinage he introduced a monetary system of international value and diffusion. His silver currency, however, remained of purely local importance.

It has been suggested that the first issue was that showing a half-length figure.[1] No gold coins of this type are known as yet. This issue was followed by the "King-shooting". During this issue the weight of the gold coin was raised, from that of a light croeseid of ± 7.87 grams to ± 8.35 grams. Four darics of this type are now known. Then followed "King-running" with bow and spear and lastly, "King-running"with dagger. The weights of the sigloi show us a similar picture. The weights of the silver, 1) half-length, 2) King-shooting, 3) King-running with bow and spear (of the earliest group)are ± 5.40 grams that of the light croeseid. On subsequent issues of the "King-running" the weight of the siglos is raised to ± 5.55 grams.[2] The date of the change from Lydian to Persian types can be fixed with a certain accuracy within a year or so of 516 B.C.[3]

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1. E.S.G. Robinson, "The Beginnings of Achaemenid Coinage". N.C. 1953. p.189.

2. A.S. Hemmy, "The Weight Standards of Ancient Greece and Persia", Iraq V, 1938 p.75. S. Noë, "Two Hoards of Persian Sigloi", The American Numismatic Society, N.N.H. 136. p.42. E.S.G. Robinson, N.C. 1958. p.190.

3. E.F. Schmidt, Persepolis, I. 70. II. 110 gives us a date of 511 B.C.

Herodotus gives the ratio of gold to silver as 13:1[1], which is that of a daric of ± 8.35 grams. and of a siglos of ± 5.40 grams. and does not mention the siglos; he values the gold in staters[2] or darics[2a] but silver is weighed or measured[3].

The Greek mainland yielded a few Persian coin hoards, all of them hoards of Persian gold shekels. The one hoard which included Persian silver coins comes from an island of the Eastern Mediterranean, Calymnos.

Sydney P. Noë[4] has registered the following hoards from Greece:

No: 100: Kifissia hoard; originally contained eight darics.

Apparently one of the darics of the Elis Hoard was placed by mistake in the Kifissia tray.

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1. Herodotus, Historiae, Oxford Classical Texts, III 95
2. Hdt. III 130,5 2a. Hdt. VII 28.
3. Hdt. I 192,3; VII 28,2
4. American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 78.

No. 104: Athos hoard; 300 Persian darics and 100 early Athenian tetradrachms.

No. 189; Calymna hoard; Burial c. 335. B.C. Included coins of Calymna, Rhodes, Cos, Cnidus, Sigloi, coins of Mausolus, Hidrieus, Pixodarus, Evagoras II and several "thousand sigloi".

No. 383; Elis hoard; One electrum stater of Cyzicus and eleven Persian darics.[1]

No: 398; Eretria Euboea; Burial. Thirty six darics, coins of Philip II and of Philipi.

No. 648; Marathon Burial 490 B.C. Persia four darics. One stater of Croesus. This hoard was reported by F. Lenormant[2] whose credibility has been recently doubted.[3] The writer has been unable to trace any of the coins from this hoard. It is, therefore, possible that these coins have not yet seen the light. Apart from these finds, all mentioned by Noë three more Persian gold coins of the Running-kneeling type were found in the debris of the Archaic Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia.[4] (Plate 6). According to Dr. Broneer, the weights of these three coins are 8.32 grams. 8.33 grams and 8.31 grams a little on the low side of the supposed weight of the daric. They were probably brought by worshippers as gifts to the Temple.

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1. According to Noë N.N.M. 78, E.T. Newell was able to see three other electrum staters and one more daric from this hoard. The author has been told at the Numismatic Museum, Athens, that no other coins except the ones listed above come from Elis.

2. Annuaire de Numismatique, 1873 - 74 p.201.

3. Daniel Schlumberger,L'Argent Grec dans l'Empire Achemenide, Memoires de la Delegation Archeologique Francaise en Afganistan Tome XIV, Paris 1953 p.13 Note 1.

4. Archaeologikon Deltion 17B' 1961 - 62 p.63. Plate 71.C. Oscar Broneer,"Discoveries at Isthmia"1961. Hesperia XXXI, 1962 p.21.

PLATE 6

We will discuss the hoards in the order they appear in Noë's publication.

Kifissia Hoard (Plates 7,8).

In Classifying the Kifissia and the Elis hoard, the writer will apply Noë's grouping methods. That is the coins will be grouped according to their reverse die identity and we shall start from those coins with identical punch dies, which number three or more.[1] Noë tentatively suggested that the simpler dies might be the earlier.[2] It should be noticed, however, that since our hoards are small we might not have the whole sequence in the development of a reverse die, but only instances of its lifetime.

Persian Darics.

Obverse: Bearded figure, wearing the tiara and dress worn by the Persian dignitaries on the Persepolis reliefs. He is in the running-kneeling position, with quiver at his back, spear in right hand and bow in left.

Reverse: OBlong incuse.

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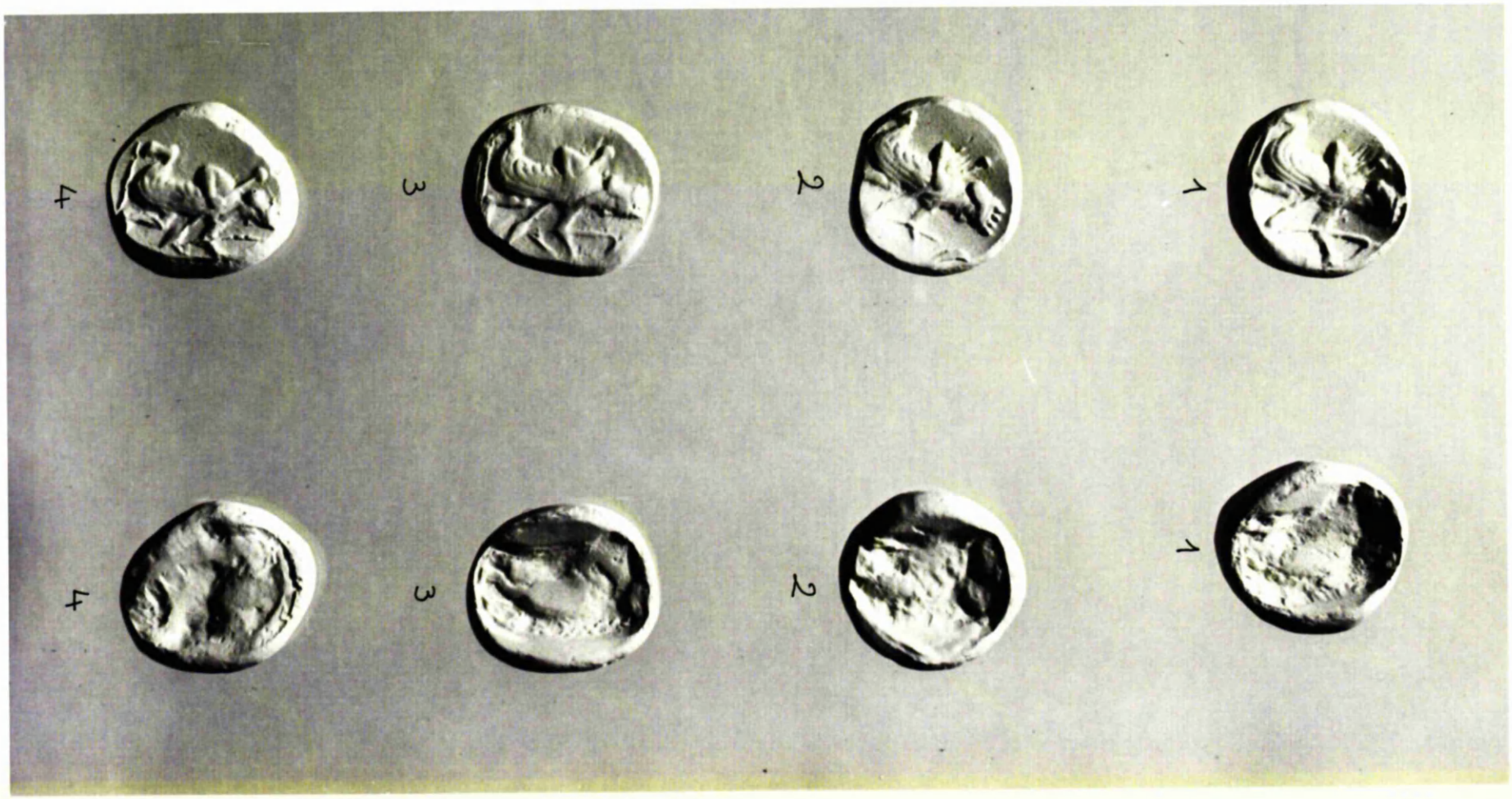
1. Sydney P. Noë, "Two hoards of Persian Sigloi" American Numismatic Society, Notes and Monographs, No. 136 p.11.

2. Noë op.cit. p. 42.

KIFISSIA HOARD

PLATE 7



Three coins 1 - 3, with similar punch in different stages of development.

No.1. Obverse: Spear of King is outlined, as is the bow string. Three arrows can be seen. Head rather big. Rounded flan.

Reverse: Oblong incuse in the shape of a foot.

8.32 grams

No.2. Obverse: Head of King is disproportionately big. Exergue is off-flan. Corner of bow shown with double lines, probably reworked. Rounded flan.

Reverse: Same as previous, with more curves in the centre.

8.33 grams.

No.3. Obverse: Oblong flan. King slender. Elongated head. Exergue line.

Reverse: Same as previous. Shape of animal with tail on the right hand side, chain pattern.

8.26 grams.

Coins Nos. 4 and 5 are from the same die.

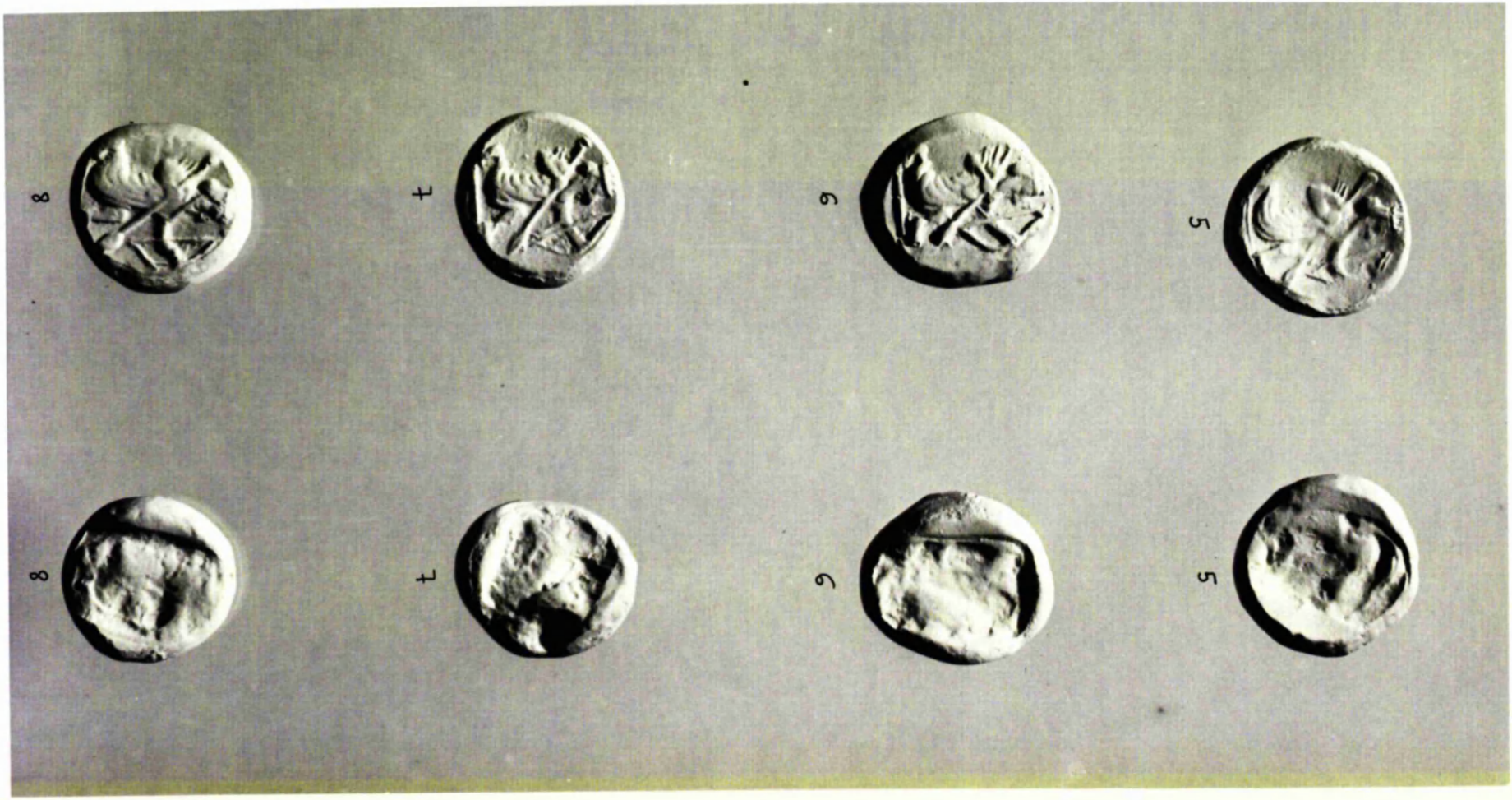
No.4. Obverse: King slender. Pomegranate on the top of the spear well modelled. Short spear. The beard disappears in the hand. Exergue line.

Reverse: Narrow and rounded at the top; larger and semi circular at the bottom. Divided into two parts; one is in relief, while the other is carved into the coin and has the shape of a bow-tie.(On the photograph the reverse is shown up-side down).

8.34 grams.

KIFISSIA HOARD

PLATE 8



No.5. Obverse: King's head big. Double line for the bow. Exergue line.

Reverse: Incuse punch more oval. Lower part has two wavy grooves. (On the photograph the reverse is shown up-side down).

8.29.grams.

No.6. Obverse: Globular eye, fat nose. Short spear. Thee long arrows. Bow shown in full. Style of the bearded figure coarse. Exergue line.

Reverse: Oblong rectangular incuse, one rectangular and one square shape, slight raising towards the left.

8.32 grams.

No.7. Obverse: Globular eye, button nose. Bubbled flan.

Reverse: Unusually sharp. On the left, triangulated shape in relief and slightly curving upwards. Looks like a promontary in the midst of a wavy sea.

8.37 grams.

No.8. Obverse: King with pointed nose and sharp elongated eye.

Reverse: Oblong, slightly curving on the left side.

8.33 grams.

No.9. Obverse: King in fine style. Head separated from hair and beard by an elegant line. Well proportioned features. Knob to show the knee. Forearm strangely thick.

Reverse: Oblong incuse. The top forms an inverted lambda and is separated from the rest of the incuse by one deep and one slight grooving running diagonally. Lower part partly in the shape of a half-winged butterfly.

8.31 grams.

This coin has a die identity with coin No.11. of the Elis hoard. We, therefore, have to assume that this is the misplaced coin.

The lowest weight of this hoard is 8.26 grams. while the highest is 8.37 grams. There does not seem to be any obverse die identity within the hoard. None of the coins bear countermarks. A frequency table shows:

8.40.
8.35.xxxx
8.30.xxx
8.25.x
8.20.

that there is a peak at 8.35 grams.

Athos Hoard.

This hoard contained three hundred darics and one hundred Athenian tetradrachms. One hundred and twenty five darics were purchased by H.P. Borrell.[1] At present, the whereabouts of most of the coins of this hoard is unknown. The writer has traced a few and will describe them presently. Seven darics from the Borrell collection were sold at Sothebys.[2] In a paragraph which follows the description in

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1. H.P. Borrell, "Unedited Autonomous and Imperial Greek Coins", N.C. Vol VI, April 1843 to January 1844, p.153. Note 56.

2. Sotheby's 12th July, 1852 p.47. "Borrell Collection".

their catalogue we read that 'All these fine specimens of the "Adarkonim" of Scripture and the "Darkanoth" of the Talmudists, both evidently deriving from the Dareikos of the Greeks, were selected from three hundred (exactly one attic talent) which were found in the bed of the canal of Xerxes, near Mt. Athos in 1839 as related by the late proprietor himself in one of his communications to the Numismatic Chronicle'.

Babelon, in his traite, illustrates two coins which come from the Athos hoard.[1] In discussing briefly the find, he concludes that the darics belong to the reign of Darius or Xerxes.

In the British Museum catalogue[2] there is mention of one daric whose provenence is the Borrell collection and possibly the Athos hoard. This coin, however, could be one of those purchased at the Southeby sale. Henry Howorth[3] informs us that the Woodhouse collection came from the same find. This collection contained a number of darics whose provenence was the

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1. Ernest Babelon, Traite des Monnais Grecque et Romaine, Tome I. Deuxieme partie p.262. Plate X. figs. 19.20.

2. Hill, British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Persia p.148 No.2.

3. N.C. III. 1903 p.29. Howorth assigns the coins to the first Darius or Xerxes.

Borrell collection. However, it seems probable that Borrell did not acquire only the Athos darics. One should, therefore, discuss the Woodhouse darics with great cautiousness. Other scholars mention the find, but apart from quoting the average weight of the hundred and twenty five Borrell darics, they unfortunately do not add much to our understanding.[1] Of the so-called "early Athenian tetradrachms" only two are known.[2] It was believed up to now that the Athos hoard was contemporary with the Xerxes canal,[3] but as it has already been suggested on the evidence of the Athenian tetradrachms,[4] this hoard dates from the fourth century B.C. We shall see that the evidence derived from the darics agrees with the previous suggestion.

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1. K. Regling, Klio,14, 1915. "Beiträge zur alten Geschichte" p.96. Th. Mommsen, "Geschichte der Römischen Münzwesens", Berlin 1860, p. 9, 2 Note 25.

2. E. Beule,"Monnaies d'Athenes" p.43 with an engraving of the coin. E. Babelon, "Les Origines de la Monnaie d'Athenes", Journal International d'Archeologic Numismatique, VIII 1905 p.43, knows the Beule coin but concludes 'que des le temps de Xerxes la monnaie d'Athenes penetrait en Orient et commencait a etre imitee'. C. M. Kraay, "Coins and History", p. 30. Pl. VII, 4.

3. Daniel Schlumberger, "L'Argent Grec dans l'Empire Achemenide", p.13.

4. Kraay op.cit. p.50.

Athos Hoard.

Persian darics.

Sotheby: Sale of 12th July, 1952.

No.425: double daric

Obverse: A kneeling archer with bow and javelin.

Reverse: Several irregular incuses.

Weight: 256 grams 1 = 16.588 grams.

The rest from No. 426 - 431 repeat the types of the double daric.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No. 426: | weight 129 grams | = | 8.359 grams |
| No. 427: | weight $128\frac{3}{10}$ grams | = | 8.3132 grams |
| No. 428: | weight $127\frac{4}{5}$ grams | = | 8.2802 grams |
| No. 429: | weight $128\frac{1}{10}$ grams | = | 8.3004 grams |
| No. 430: | weight $128\frac{1}{2}$ grams | = | 8.326 grams |
| No.431: | weight $129\frac{7}{10}$ grams | = | 8.4038 grams |

British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Persia.[1]

Obverse: Running-kneeling.

Reverse: Oblong die. Three triangular shapes decrease from bottom to top and run parallel.

Weight: 8.359 grams.

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1. Hill, p. 148 No.2.

Babelon Traite, Plate X (no weights).

Fig. 19. Obverse: Running-kneeling, Lower part off-flan. Five spikes on the tiara.

Reverse: Oblong incuse, divided into two trapezoid shapes. The reverse of this coin is comparable to the reverse of Kifissia No.4. Five spikes are seen on the sigloi published by Noë (A.N.S. N.N.M. No. 136) Plate XIII.434, 435, 436, 437, 438.

Fig. 20. Obverse: Running-kneeling. Below waist off-flan.

Reverse: Oblong incuse. On upper half one can distinguish an X form.

Athens. Tetradrachms. E. Beulé[1]

Obverse: Head of Athena. The Goddess has a very small eye in profile and a pointed nose. Only the upper part of the Goddess's face is seen off-flan.

Reverse: Owl in a frontal position with olive spray and crescent. No. legend.

Weight: 17.20 grams.

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1. Les Monnaies d'Athènes p. 43. drawing of the coin.

We are informed "Ce qui est certain c'est que le tetradrachme de M. Behr[1] n'a aucune des traits de la fabrique Attique. Il est tres compacte coupe comme dans une tranche epaisse de metal, frappe a la facon des dariques."

C. M. Kraay[2]. Obverse: Athena wearing the laurel wreath. Above the head of the Goddess is some sort of floral decor. Reverse: Owl. Crescent. Legend.

The Athenian tetradrachms alone testify to "a quite late date in the fourth century"[3].

Out of the three hundred darics only ten could be traced and only three are actually known.

Double darics are dated between 331 - 300 B.C.[4] and have been ascribed to the mint of Babylon under Alexander, since they are inscribed with Greek letters and monograms shared with the silver of Alexander struck at Babylon.

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1. This coin was in the collection of M. le Baron de Behr and was catalogued by F. Lenormant, Description des medailles de M. le Baron de Behr. 1857. p.38. No. 203.

2. Coins & History, Plate VII 4.

3. Op.cit. p.50.

4. Hill. B. M. Catalogue Persia. p.176. Plate XX. W.B. Head, Historia Numorum,London 1963 p.828-829 dates them between 312 - 311 B.C.

It has been suggested that these darics are short of their theoretical standard "in accordance with a general rule : that the mint authorities continually reduced the standard of each successive coinage, so that it might remain equal to the effective weight of the worn older coins in circulation".[1]

The above evidence, we hope, will dissipate the myth of the Athos hoard, and its relation to Xerxes, for everything points to the late fourth century B.C.

Calymna Hoard.

This hoard was found by a peasant in 1823 whilst deepening a neglected well in his garden.[2] We are informed that the "several thousands of darics" (sigloi) are of the usual common description. We have to assume that they are of the Running-kneeling type. Among them were some showing on the[3]

Obverse: Kneeling bearded figure shooting with bow. Wears tiara and Persian dress.

Reverse: Satrap on a saddled galloping horse brandishing a spear.

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1. Dr. A.D.H. Bivar (in manuscript), Chapter IV, Currency in the Achaemenid Empire: The Achaemenid Gold Standard.

2. H.P. Borrell,"Unedited Greek Coins", N.C. IX April,1846 - January 1847. p. 165. Borrell refers wrongly to the sigloi as "thousands of darics".

3. J.P. Six, "Monnaies des Satrapes de Carie" N.C. XVII, New Series 1877, p.81.

Each of these coins has different letters and symbols, all of which are described by Six. The coins are struck in the Rhodian standard, used in many Ionian cities[1] and in Caria. He, therefore, concludes that these coins were struck in Caria and were probably issues of Pixodarus of Hallikarnasus for the payment of Persian troops.[2] Babelon, however, contests this view and argues that they were coined in Cyprus, since they bear Phoenician letters and were issues of Evagoras, who was satrap of Cyprus from 351-349 B.C.[3] Head assumed that they were issued by some Persian commander or satrap of Phoenicia, he proposes Mazaeus.[4] Rhodian weight, which became general after 104 B.C. unless the coins were struck at Chios or Ephesus, provided an efficient currency as substitute for the unpopular Athenian.[5] Coins of Rhodian weight were struck in Cyprus and the Phoenician letters upon them make it clear that they were issues of this island. Some of the symbols found on these coins indicate a Cypriot provenence.[6]

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1. Six, op.cit. p.83.

2. Six op.cit. p.86.

3. Les Perse Achemenides CXXIV - CXXV. H. Howorth, "The History & Coinage of Artaxerxes III", N.C. III 4th series 1903, p.38. subscribes to this view.

4. W.B. Head, op.cit. p.831

5. E.S.G. Robinson, N.C. 1958 pp.52-53

6. E. Babelon, Les Perses Achemenides CXXIV - CXXV. H. Howorth, N.C. III, 1903. p.38.

They were probably issues of Evagoras, when he was representing the Great King as satrap. The coins of Pixodarus are the latest of the hoard. Since the hoard does not contain any Alexander coins it was probably buried towards the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.

Eretria Hoard.

This hoard was found in the suburbs of the city of Eretria while builders were working on the foundations of a new house. The find contained coins of the city of Philipi, staters of Philip II and darics. Mr. Lambrou was able to see thirty six darics. As the hoard had many darics of the commonest type he did not purchase them. We can only deduce that they were of the Running-kneeling type, and that the hoard dates from the second half of the fourth century B.C.

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1. P. Lambrou, Περι ἑξ Ἀνεκδότων Νομισμάτων τῶν Φιλίππων, Corcyra 1855, p 14

Elis Hoard (Plates 8,9,10), 11

Cyicus electrum stater. Plate 11

Obverse: Herakles and Iphicles. Naked children with short hair. Both are kneeling, one faces right the other left. The first is trying to strangle a snake. The representation is set on a tuna fish.

Reverse: Four square incuse.

Weight 16.02 grams.

K. Regling.

"Der Griechische Goldschatz von Prinkipo" Zeit. für Num., 1931. p.25.

H. von Fritze.

"Die Elektroprägung von Kyzikos" Nomisma VII 1912, p.15. No. 208. Tafel VI 20.

The Persian darics of this hoard came from two different reverse dies.

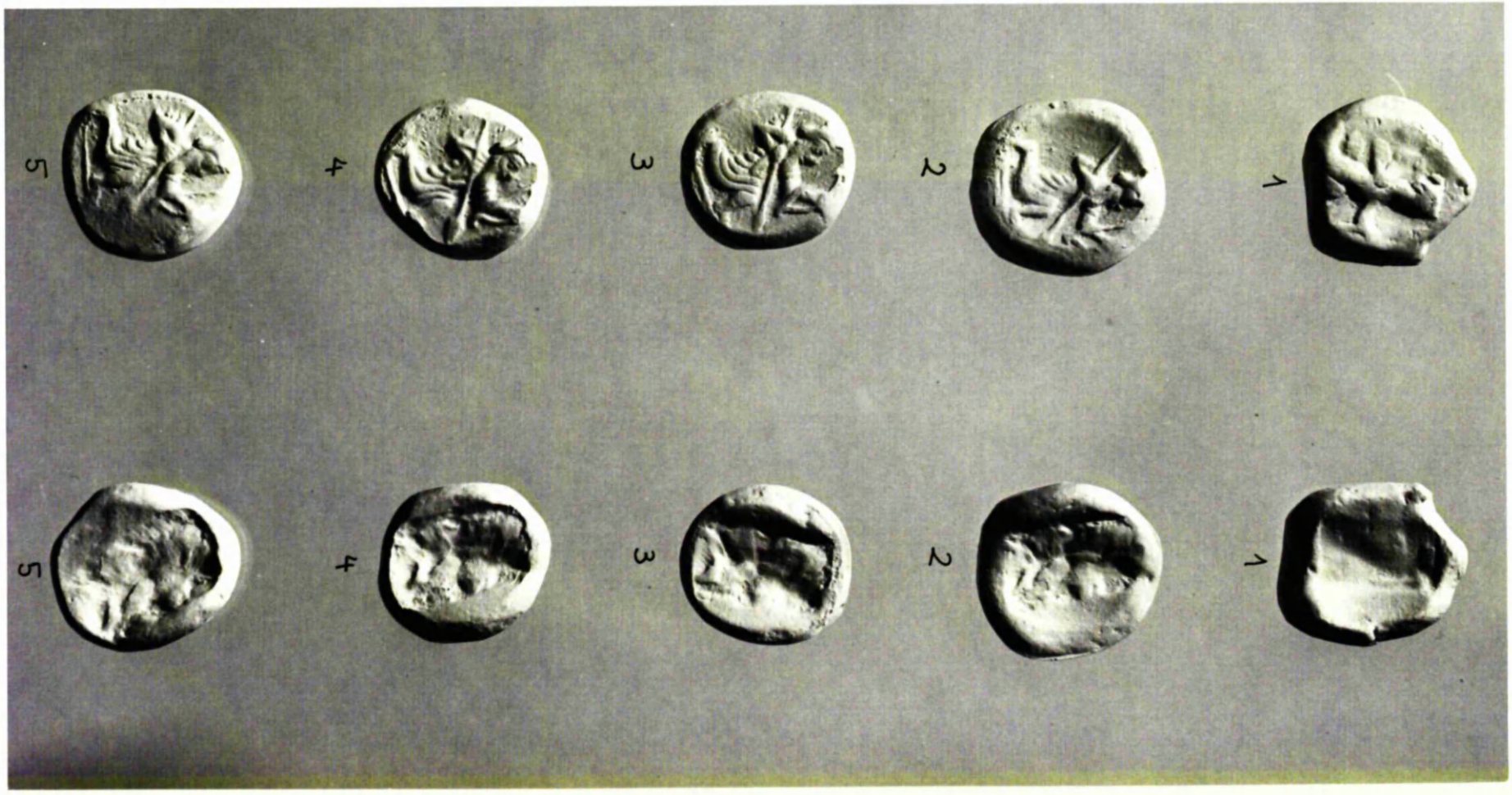
Darics.

Obverse: Bearded figure, crowned with a tiara and wearing the Persian dress, with quiver at his back, spear in right hand and bow in left. Running or kneeling towards the right. Exergue line.

Reverse: Oblong incuse.

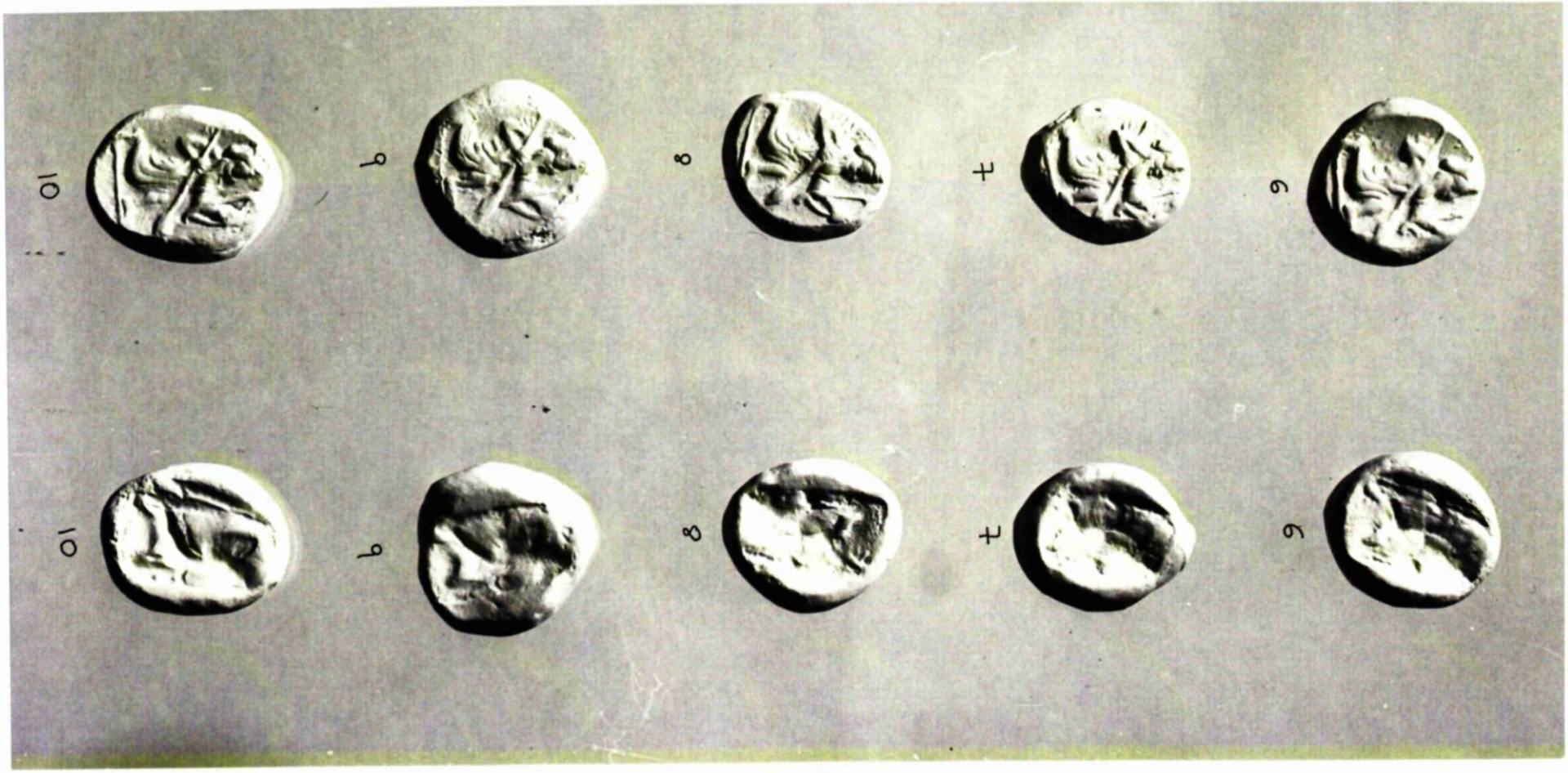
ELIS HOARD

PLATE 9



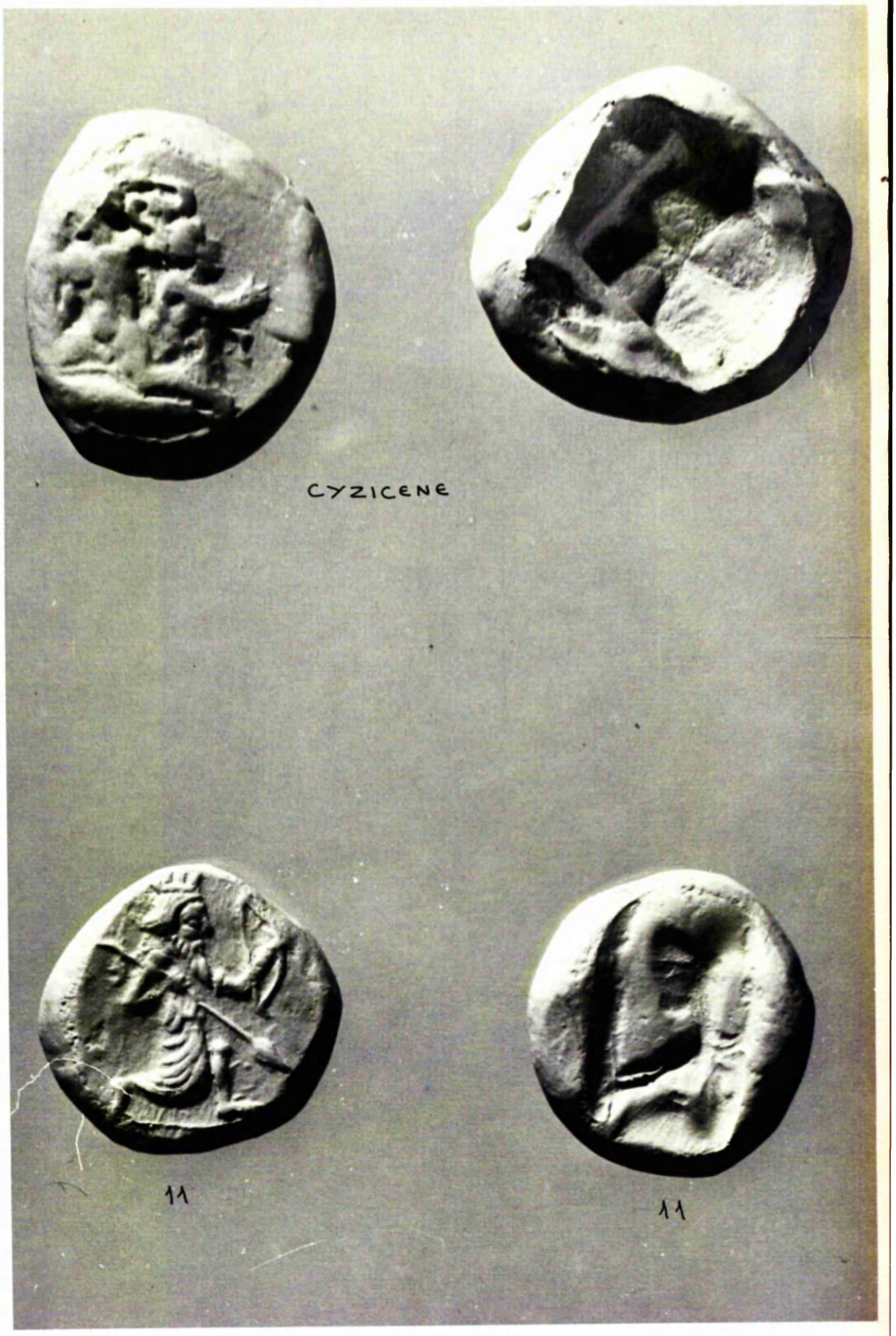
ELIS HOARD

PLATE 10



ELIS HOARD

PLATE 11



Die A.

No.2. Obverse: Exergue line can just be seen. A delicate curving line shows the point where the bow and the string unite.
Reverse: As usual.
Weight 8.29 grams

No.3. Obverse: King in a little coarser style. Especially the eye, which is too big, would seem to have been re-worked.
Reverse: As previous.
Weight: 8.22 grams

No.4. Obverse: Fine design, except for disproportionate spear tip.
Reverse: As usual.
Weight 8.32 grams

No.5. Obverse: Slightly blurred. Upper part corner of bow missing. Through four parallel lines the die-cutter has tried to show the fingers of the hand that hold the spear.
Reverse: As above.
Weight 8.32 grams.

No.6. Obverse: As above.
Reverse: As above
Weight 8.35 grams.

No.7. As above

Weight 8.35 grams.

No.8. Obverse: Finely engraved figure. Beard, fingers and folds shown through fine striations.

Reverse: As above.

Weight 8.36 grams.

Die B.

No.1. Obverse: Type obliterated. Lower half off-flan Irregular flan.

Reverse: Oblong incuse, divided diagonally through a line.

Weight 8.35 grams.

E. T. Newell, "A Cilician Find", N.C. XIV,Plate IV,7. almost Same incuse.

No.9. Obverse: Coarse design. Upper part of spear missing, spikes of tiara, part of bow off-flan rounded flan becoming triangular towards the top.

Reverse: Oblong incuse. The upper half of the coin starts a butterfly formation, lower lambda.

Weight 8.31 grams.

No.11. Obverse: Finely engraved figure with weak appearance. Knob to show knee. Dentate tiara. Fine striations show hair, beard and the robe's folds.
Reverse: Butterfly upper half, irregular lambda lower half. This coin on the obverse bears three countermarks.
Weight 8.31 grams.

No.10. Obverse: Fine, eye almond shape a little too big. Oblong flan.
Reverse: as previous.
Weight 8.31 grams.

The reverse of these two coins are identical with British Museum catalogue Persia Plate XXV 12, 13.

The lowest weight in this hoard is 8.22 grams while the highest is 8.36 grams.

A frequency table shows:

8.40
8.35 xxx
8.30 xxxxxx
8.25
8.20 x
8.15

that we have a peak at 8.30 grams.

Noë[1] had remarked about the sigloi that "the same part of the punch is uniformly opposite the head of the figure". The same principle applies to the darics of these two hoards, so that we have a die alignment. This "might have been accomplished by having a mark or notch on each of the dies so that these marks could be brought into alignment or near alignment before striking."[1] Because of an overlarge die some coins (Kifissia 2,4, Elis 1,7) are slightly off-flan.[2]

The unfiromity in their weights is probably inherent in the casting of their flans[3] (Elis 10,11). Except one, no other daric of these hoards bears any countermarks.

Dating.

Amongst the coins of the Elis hoard was a Cyzicene of the Herakles - Iphicles type. Cyzicenes are grouped and dated on the basis of the development of their incuse.[4] The type of our coin is part of Group IV of von Fritze's[5] catalogue. This group is placed between the years 410 and 344 B.C.[6] In all, we know nine more hoards which contained Cyzicene electrums,[7] of those only the Piraeus[8] hoard had an Herakles - Iphicles coin.

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1. Sydney P. Noë, Two Hoards of Persian Sigloi", N.N.M. No. 136.p.15.
2. Noë, op.cit. p.18.
3. Noë, op.cit. p.16.
4. H. von Fritze, "Die Elektropragung von Kyzikos", Nomisma, VII 1912. p.2.
5. Op.cit. p.14. No.208 Tafel VI, 20.
6. Op.cit. p.32.
7. K. Regling, "Goldschatz von Prinkipo", Zeit. für Numismatik. XLI 1931.p.25.
8. Op.cit. p.26.

Apparently, this hoard was reported as containing coins of Alexander, but Regling disbelieves this information and thinks it more probable that the hoard contained coins of Philip. He concludes :Danach ist der Schatz im einen frühen Zeitraum der Gruppe IV, d.h. in den frühen Jahrzehnten des 4 Jahrh vergraben."[1]

Our Elis hoard can, therefore, be dated to the early years of the fourth century B.C. The frequency table on page. 37. shows that the peak is not at 8.35 grams, as would be expected, but at 8.30 grams. It is possible that during the fourth century B.C. the weight of the daric decreased.

The date of the Kifissia hoard is more difficult to ascertain. The internal evidence that the hoard can offer is of no great help. The general style of the hoard is reminiscent of Noë[2] Tchai Hoard No.1. The metrology showed a peak at 8.35 grams, the normal weight for a daric. On these two bases, one could venture the suggesting of a late fifth century B.C. date. If this is so, and only further research will prove it, then the Kifissia hoard is the earliest hoard of Persian coins from Greece together with the three Isthmian darics.

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1. Op.cit. p. 26.

2. S. P. Noë,"Two Hoards of Persian Sigloi" N.N.M. 136 Plates I - XI.

From the early 5th century B.C. we have no coin hoards. It is possible however, that the Persians paid subsidies to different cities with which the latter minted their own coinage. For instance, it is probable that the earliest issues of the Larisean mint of Thessaly which issued coins in the Persian standard[1] might have come from such a payment, dating from the time of Mardonia's first campaign in 492 B.C.

Towards the end of the fifth century, Persian money was coming into Greece either as irregular contributions from Eastern Greece to the Spartan war chest,[2] or again as subsidy for troops kept by the Great King. For the fourth century B.C. Xenophon[3] mentions many instances where Persian money was used to persuade Greeks to conclude alliances. In one instance Tithraustes sends Timocrates to give money to some Peloponesian states and in another we are told that Pharnabazus gave money to the Cythnians as well as to Conon in order to proceed with the rebuilding of the walls[4] of Athens.

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1. H.D. Westlake, "The Medism of Thessaly", Journal of Hellenic Studies,56, 1936, p.12. p.15.
2. F.E. Adcock, Melanges G. Glotz, Alcidas p.4. Ephesians offered 1,000 darics.
3. Hellenica Loeb Classical Library III 5, 1-2, IV 8,12.
4. Hellenica IV 8,7; I.G.Vol II, No.5. 10.b.

In Greek inscriptions[1] darics are mentioned earlier than sigloi.[2] In Athens however, the daric commanded a premium as gold bullion above its equivalent in Persian silver,[3] and the ratio gold-silver stood at 14:1 until 421 B.C. After 412 B.C. the rate of gold began to decline in Athens, but the value of the daric was secured by its equivalent in sigloi.[3]

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1. I.G.V. 1, 1, line 24; I.G.I. 2, 429 - 428 B.C. and 427 B.C.

2. I.G.II,1384, line 7, 403 - 402 B.C; 1382, line 10-11, 406 - 403 B.C.

3. Dr. A.D.H. Bivar (in manuscript) Chapter IV, "Currency in the Achaemenid Empire: The Achaemenid Gold Standard".

## APPENDIX

Apart from the coins listed above, there are in the Athens Numismatic Museum five more darics, mainly from private collections and twenty sigloi of unknown provenence. A list will follow with the numbers that the coins bear in the National Numismatic Museum in Athens.

Persian Darics (Plate 19).

No.1.

N.N.M.A.[1]

6464a Obverse: Bearded figure wearing tiara and Persian dress holding with right hand spear, and bow with left hand (bow is off-flan). Running-kneeling position. Coarse style.

Reverse: Oblong incuse. On top a short triangular shaped element. Similar to reverse Punch D, No.85, Plate VI of Noë's "Two Hoards of Persian Sigloi".

Weight 8.31 grams.

No.2.

6464b Obverse: Very debased style. Running-kneeling. Big Head and very big body.

Reverse: Oblong incuse. On the edge of the coin two countermarks. The reverse is bubbly.

Weight 8.34 grams.

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1. N.N.M.A. = National Numismatic Museum, Athens.

No.3.

6464 Obverse: Very blurred. Running-kneeling. Bow off-flan.
Reverse: Oblong incuse, similar to Noë's Reverse D
Group V, Plate VI[1].
Weight 8.32 grams.

Coins Nos 2 and 3 come from the collection of King Othon. There seems to be a die identity with British Museum Plate XXV 14. The King on the obverse is beardless, Cyrus the Younger.

No.4.

6464 Obverse: Coarse style. Running-kneeling. Part of bow and part below knee off-flan.
Reverse: Oblong incuse, on the right side two squarish lumps.
Weight 8.32 grams.

No.5.

6464 Obverse: Running;kneeling with bow and spear. Coarse style.
Reverse: Oblong incuse. Upper top triangle, rest of incuse wavy lines.
Weight 8.32 grams.

Nos. 4 and 5 are donations of Mr. N. Zachariades. The reverse of this daric is identical with Plate XXV, 24 of British Museum catalogue of Persian Coins. This is a Woodhouse gift to the British Museum.

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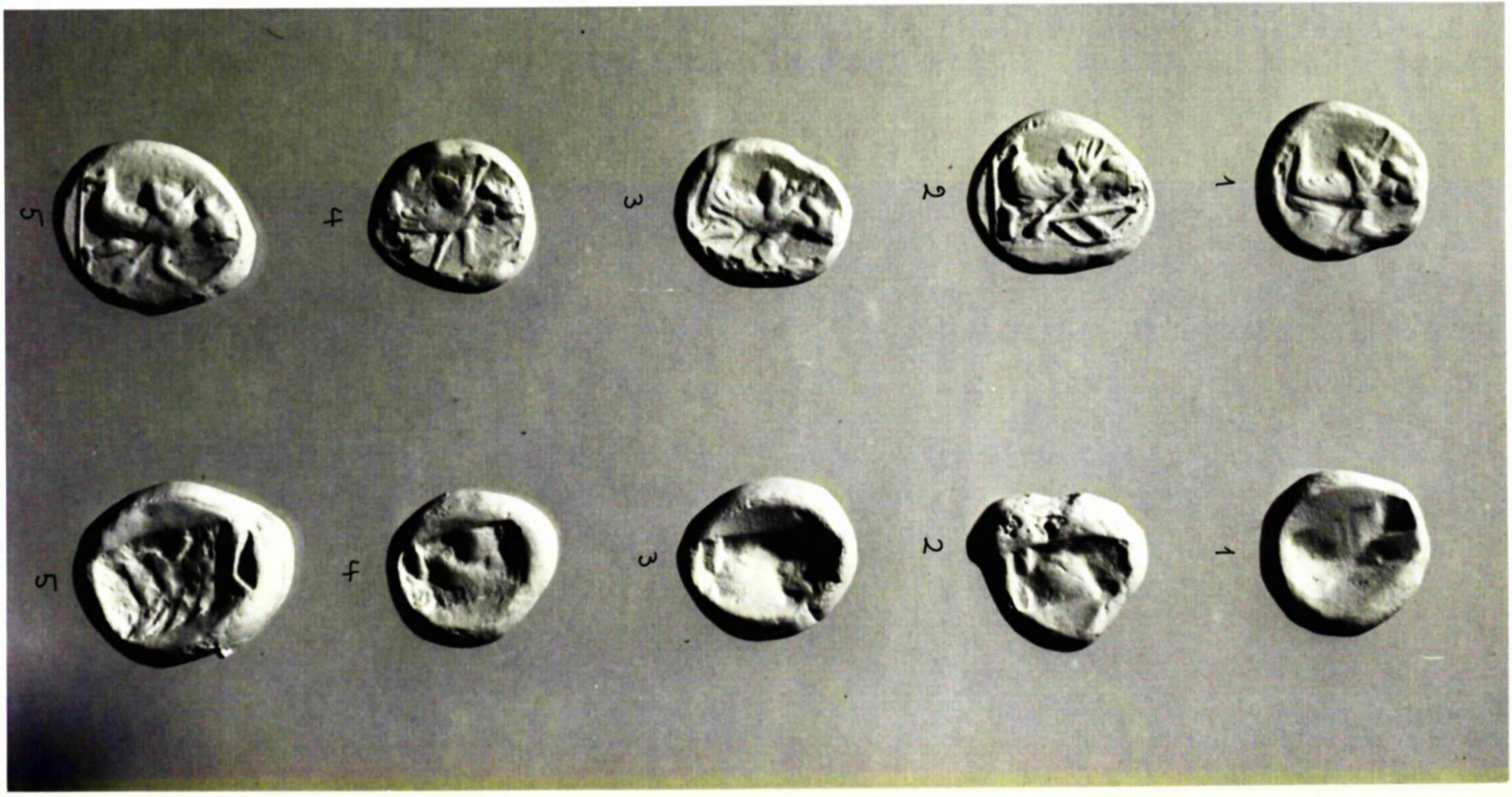
1. Noë N.N.M. 136

DARICS (APPENDIX)

PLATE 12



# APPENDIX

## Persian Sigloi.

Eighteen sigloi are of the Running-kneeling type, the other of the King holding the dagger.

Running-kneeling Type. (N.N.M.A.)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6469 | Irregular reverse incuse | 5.42 grams |
| 6472 | A hole on the obverse. Re. Oblong incuse | 5.50 " |
| 6465 | | 5.67 " |
| 6466 | Worn specimen. Countermarked on the obv. | 4.38 " |
| 6467 | | 4.26 " |
| 6468 | | 5.52 " |
| 6470 | | 5.57 " |
| 6471 | | 5.49 " |
| 6475[b] | Two countermarks on the obverse. | 5.50 " |
| A.E. 587 | | 5.29 " |
| 6473 | | 5.46 " |
| 6474 | | 3.94 " |
| 6475 | | 4.51 " |
| K '671 | Small denominations | 3.62 " |
| M. 1901 - 1902 A ' 119 | Small Denominations | 0.89 " |
| 64756 | Small denominations | 1.34 " |
| M.631 | | 5.46 " |

King Holding Dagger.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.E.586 | | 5.33 " |
| A.E.588 | | 5.35 " |
| A.E.589 | Obverse comparable to Newell"CilicianFind" Plate IV, 13. | |

ACHAEMENID METALWORK IN GREECE.

The repertory of the Greek silversmiths was comparatively limited until the Persian Wars. It consisted mainly of ritual vessels made in the traditional shapes, such as kraters or phiale mesomphalos.[1] No plate was manufacturered for private use for most of the fifth century B.C. Vessels of bronze, silver or gold were made for dedications to the temples, and the wealth of the temple treasurers testify to it.[2] The enormous booty of Plataea[3] which was divided among the allied cities provided the Greeks with new shapes which acted as a stimulus to their imagination. Among the trophies were golden kraters, phialai and other vessels. The other vessels must have included rhyta,[4] bowls, cups and probably jug-amphoras. These vessels were not made only in silver or gold but in glass as well, for Aristophane[5] informs us that the ambassadors sent by the Athenians to the Great King recounted that he drank wine out of a glass bowl. An idea of the variety of shapes used in the Achaemenid realm can be gained from the Persepolis reliefs.

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1. D.E.Strang, Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plates, London 1966 p. 75; G. M. Richter, A Handbook of Greek Art, London 1959, figs. 292, 298, 299, 300.

2. Strang, op.cit. p.74; Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique X, 1886, p.462; I.G. II, 699-701, 768.

3. Herodotus IX, 80.

4. H. Hoffmann, The Persian Origin of Attic Rhyta, Antike Kunst I, p.25.

5. Aristophanes, Acharnians, Loeb Classical Library, V.74

Bowls[1] are carried by the Lydians, Syrians, Babylonians, Parthians and Bactrians; Beakers[2] by the Lydians, Arachosians and Medians; Jug-Amphoras[3] by the Syrians and the Armenians; incense pails[4], bowls on a stand[5], or vessels with three handles[6].

Recently in Greece some vessels have come to light which show Achaemenid influence. These, we propose to discuss here. A small discussion will follow on Achaemenid jewellry in Greece.

Phiale.

The phiale especially the mesomphalos was a shape common in Greece from the 8th century B.C. Numerous examples have been found in most ancient Greek sites and are listed by Luschey[7]. Some phiales, however, found in Greece, can be compared with vessels found in Achaemenid contexts. These are: two phiales from Ialysos in Rhodes; two from Derveni; one from Akarnania; one from Nikesiane.

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1. G. Walser, Die Völkerschafen auf den Reliefs von Persepolis. Berlin 1966, Plates 59, 45, 62, 67.
2. op.cit. Plates 40. 33.
3. ibid. Plates 46,39.
4. E.F. Schmidt, Persepolis II, 1953. Plates 69 G.
5. Persepolis II, Plate 69 G.
6. ibid. Plate 70E.
7. H. Luschey, Die Phiale, 1939 p.43. 61. 77. 95. 121. 133.

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1. G. Walser, Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis. Berlin 1966, Plates 59, 45, 62, 67.
2. op.cit. Plates 40,33.
3. ibid. Plates 46,39.
4. E. F. Schmidt, Persepolis II, 1953. Plates 69.G.
5. PersepolisII, Plate 69.G.
6. ibid. Plate 70E.
7. H. Luschey, Die Phiale, 1939, p.43,61,77,95,121,133.

The two phiales from Rhodes were found at Ialysos.[1] (Plate 13). The walls of these vessels are decorated with almond shaped bosses facing towards the centre, and alternating with two confronted S-spirals which end in swans's heads. The space between the swans is decorated with a palmette. This motif is found on a hydria from Caere,[2] and could be the work of an Ionian immigrant who might have borrowed it from Egypt or Phoenicia. The same motif is found on a stone tray from Persepolis.[3] A palmette between lobes decorates a phiale from Susa.[4] An identical phiale to the ones from Ialysos was found at Kasbek in Georgia.[5] The latter bears an inscription in Aramaic,[6] which has been compared with the Reichs-Aramäisch documents, and on this basis the object has been dated in the 5th century B.C. The inscription has been read as "des Kabbir". The shape, however, of the letters are comparable to those on the coins of the satraps. Until the inscription has been studied properly an exact dating for these vessels can not be achieved.

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1. Clara Rhodos VIII, Figs. 168-9. Luschey, op.cit. p.61. Strong, op.cit. p.77.

2. P. Amandry, Or Févres Grecs a la Cour du Grand Roi, 8eme Congres Internationale d'Archeologie Classique, Paris 1963, p.585.

3. Persepolis II, Plate 54,2.

4. Delegation en Perse, Memoires publiees sous la direction de M. J. de Morgan, Tome VII, Fig 54. p.41.

5. J. Smirnov, Argenterie Orientale, Plate III.

6. K. Schlottmann, Zur Semitischen Epigraphik, Z.D.M.G. XXXIII 1879, p.292.

PLATE 13

PLATE 14

Two phiales found at Derveni and one said to have come from Akarnania[1] share the same decoration and shape. The Akarnania phiale is of massive silver, is cast and chased and was partly gilded. Although we have been unable to actually study the Derveni vessels, it would appear that they were made with the same technique. All three are decorated on the underside with a series of pointed overlapping leaves, radiating from a central rosette. They are shallow and partly gilded. The neck has a horizontal rib in relief. On the interior the Derveni vessels[2] are smooth. The leaf decoration can be compared with the Tel-el-Maskhuta phiale.[3] The leaves, however, of the three Greek phiales have a central rib seen on the Toukh-el-Garmous bowl,[4] and on a glass fragment of a phiale from Ephesus.[5] The Derveni phiale were found in tomb B' and are dated by a triobolon of Philip II, in the 4th century B.C.[6]

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1. G.M.Richter, Handbook of the Greek Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,1953, p.97. Plate 76 The Bull of the Metropolitan Museum of Art,1923, p.124.

2. These objects are exhibited at the Museum of Salonica.

3. Dr. A.D.H. Bivar, A Rosette Phiale Inscribed in Aramaic, B.S.O.A.S. XXIV, Part 2, 1961. p.193. Plate II.

4. M. Rostovtreff, Economic History of the Hellenistic World- II, Plate

5. P. Fossing, Drinking Bowls of Glass and Metal from the Achaemenid Time, Berytus, IV, 1937, p.121. Plate XXIII,1.

6. Ch. Makaronas, Archaeologikon Deltion, 1963. 18 B'2,p.194.

At Nikisiane[1] which is on the north of the Pangaeum ridge a tumulus was discovered containing many silver and bronze vessels dated by three staters of Philip II, in the 4th century B.C.[2] Among the objects was a silver shallow phiale,[3] The underside of the vessel is decorated with almond shaped lobes facing a rosette which decorates the bottom. Alternating with the lobes we have a stylised lotus pattern set between two curving lines; and symmetrically to it another lotus bud. This pattern can be compared to that of a phiale from Toukh-el-Garmous[4] and another from Tel-el-Maskhuta.[5] The decorative patterns which decorate phialai in Greece are similar to those of vessels found in Egypt,[6] furthermore lobed phiale and leaf phiale have been found together with coins of Philip of Macedonia which would date both groups in the same period.

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1. B.C.H. LXXXIV, 1960. p. 799
2. ibid. p. 800
3. The author saw this object at the Archaeological Museum of Kavalla but was unable to study it.
4. BABESCH, XXXIII, 1958, p.54. fig.4.
5. B.S.O.A.S. XXIV Part 2, 1961. p.193. No.3.
6. B.S.O.A.S. XXIV Part 2, 1961. p.193 - 195.

Deep Bowls.

At Persepolis[1] and Gordion[2] bowls with a large flaring rim were found. At Gordion this shape must have appealed to the local potters who have imitated it in clay. On the Persepolis reliefs Babylonians, Cilicians, Syrians and Bactrians carry a similar vessel[3]. The bowl carried by the Bactrians has its body decorated with horizontal grooves. It has been suggested that this is an Ionian model which was widely used during the Achaemenid period[4]. This shape however, is seen on the hands of many different nations so that it is difficult to assign to it a specific place of origin.

An attic black-glazed bowl at Athens can be compared to that carried by the Bactrian dignitaries. Horizontal ribs decorate its underside and has an open flaring rim[5]. A similar glass bowl has been found at Corinth and has been assigned to the period before 146 B.C[6]. These bowls find their parallel in the bowls from Gordion and Persepolis so that a possible 5th century date could

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1. Persepolis II, Plate 68,1.
2. A.J.A. 66, 1962. p.154. Plate 41. fig 1a, 1b.
3. G. Walser, op.cit. Plates 43, 51. 45, 67.
4. BABESCH XLV, 1970. p.133
5. G. Weinberg, Hellenistic Glass vessels from the Athenian Agora, Hesperia 30,1961. p. 383, Plate 91a. This vessel belongs to the Geroulanos Collection.
6. ibid, p.383. fig 2a. Miss Weinberg suggested a 4th B.C. or perhaps 5th B.C. for the Corinth glass bowl.

be assigned to them.

During the 4th century these vessels became very popular both in Greece and Egypt. The rims however, of the Egyptian examples are straighter.[1]

Deep bowls have been found at Sedes;[2] PLATE 14, 14a Nikisiane[3] at the Derveni tombs B' and 2. A similar bowl at Hambourg[4] is said to come from Macedonia. These vases exist in clay, bronze and silver. A variant of this shape is the Karitsa[5] glass bowl exhibited in the Museum of Salonica. These types of bowls have been found without any decoration as well (i.e. one bowl from Nikisiane[6]), usually however, they are elaborately decorated. The neck on the underside of the vessel is usually decorated with a cable pattern followed by a guilloche pattern (Hambourg, Nikisiane, Derveni, Sedes). On the bottom of the innerside there is usually an amphalos at times decorated with the head of Medusa or with that of a Silenus (Derveni). The bowls from Derveni and Nikisiane are dated in the 4th century B.C. because of the coins of Philip. It is probable, therefore, that the other bowls which are alike, would also date in the fourth century B.C. PLATE 13

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1. BABESCH, XLV, 1970. p.136. Fig. 11. Pl. 37. Fig. 12.

2. N. Kotzia, Archaeologiki Ephimeris, 1937, p.884.

3. B.C.H. LXXXIV, 1960. p. 799

4. L. Byvanck Quarles van Ufford, A Propos d'un Vase a Heidelberg, BABESCH XXXV, 1957, p.63. BABESCH, XLV, 1970. p.133. Fig. 14.

5. No. 5495

6. B.C.H. 1960. p.799. Fig. 12.

NIKISIANĒ

PLATE 13

SEDES

PLATE 14

SEDES

PLATE 14a

The Karitsa bowl[1] is made out of transparent glass with a green tinge. The rim is slightly flaring and is unfortunately broken in two places. Below the neck are two horizontal ribs followed by a "languette" pattern after which we have two more horizontal grooves. The rest of the vessel is decorated with long petals unevenly spaced radiating from two concentric circles. Long petals decorate a glass beaker found at Persepolis[2]. The decoration might have been produced by moulding. The other vessel whose shape is comparable to ours is the glass bowl at Toronto[3] (Plate 15). The Karitsa bowl moreover is similar in shape and decoration to the Megarian bowls found in the Athenian agora and which have been dated by Thompson[4] in the first quarter of the 3rd century B.C. probably towards the end. Byvanch-Quarles van Ufford suggests a date between the 2nd half of the 3rd century and the middle of the 2nd century B.C. A similar date should be assigned to our bowl.

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1. Ch. Makaranas, Praktika,1955, p.156. p.51b. Weimberg op.cit. Pl. 92.a.

2. Persepolis II, Plate 67, 10.

3. A. von Saldern, Glass Finds at Gordion, J.G.S.I, 1959. p.37.

4. H. Thompson, Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery, Hesperia III, fig 30, 39a, 74, 94; p.457.

5. BABESCH, 1953, pp.4-5, in French these bowls are known as"Bols a Godrons".

PLATE 15

According to Thompson[1] a fragment of a glass bowl was found in the Athenian agora. He describes it as follows:

> " steep wall, slightly flaring lip. Hemispherical in shape. Two shallow grooves around the outside of the lip and at least three farther down. The bowl was molded and then polished on a lathe. Both inner and outer surfaces show clear traces of lathe work. The glass is yellowish-green through and through. There is a very thin film of oxidation over part of the inside but no real flaking has occured. Its lip profile alone shows that it belongs to the Megarian bowl."

Horizontal grooves can be seen on the vessels carried by the Bactrians[2] and the Lydians[3] on the Persepolis reliefs, and on beakers, some of which will be discussed later. The date of this vessel is 3rd century B.C. Another glass bowl was found in a girl's tomb at Neapolis. This eggshaped bowl is exhibited in the Museum of Salonica and dated in the second century B.C. Its height is 7 cm; its rim diameter 8.8.cm; The bottom of the bowl is missing and its rim is broken in two instances.

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1. H. Thompson, Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery, Hesperia III p. 427, fig. 113.

2. Walser, op.cit. Plate 67

3. ibid. Plate 59.

the glass is thick and has a greenish colour. The inside is smooth. The outside decoration is in relief, and probably the whole surface was cut and ground after the forming process. Near the rim are two horizontal grooves close together, the rest of the vessel is decorated with twelve almond shaped lobes pointing downwards, alternating with lotus leaves with a central rib. From the top of the vessel the lobes alternate with eleven triangles. In shape the bowl is similar to a bowl in bronze from Cairo[1] (Plate 16), which has been dated in the 1st century B.C. This shape however, is known from Tarsus and Antioch from the 2nd century B.C.[2] The decoration can be compared with that from a glass phiale at the Ermitage.[3] This however, does not have the rib on the leaf which is found on the Erskine bowl,[4] and on the Aegina vase at the British Museum (Plate 17/8. For the Aegina vase we will suggest a late 4th or early 3rd century date. For this bowl whose shape cannot be dated before 200 B.C. a late 3rd century or early 2nd century date would be possible.

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1. Byvanck - Quarles van Ufford, Variations sur le Theme des Bols Megariens, BABESCH, XXXIV 1959, p.62. - 63. Fig.8. Les Bols Hellenistiques en verre dore, BABESCH XLV, 1970.p.138. Fig.8.

2. Hesperia 30,1961. p. 382.

3. A. Oliver, J.G.S. XII,1970.p.12.Fig.8.

4. B.S.O.A.S., XXIV Part 2. 1961. Plate.1.

PLATE 16

During the 5th century B.C. we find in Greece the same shape that we already know from Persepolis and Gordion. (Corinth and Athens) while during the 4th century B.C. the bowl becomes deeper and has a large flaring rim. As we saw there is a concentration of this shape in Macedonia and Thrace. In the course of the 3rd century B.C. the hemispherical bowl with small flaring rim takes its place and during the 2nd century B.C. the hemispherical bowl without rim replaces it. These bowls are decorated with long leaves already attested in Persepolis on a glass beaker with horizontal grooves or with lotus and lobes (Neapolis).

Vases.

Two kinds of vases exist, they are forms b and c of Strong's Achaemenid deep bowls.[1] Form b has a rounder body and a tall flaring rim while c has a slimmer body and more angular towards the bottom. This shape has been achieved by the lengthening of the neck of the deep bowl.

Form b.

A vase made out of clay and exhibited in the Museum of Heidelberg[2] was apparently purchase d in Athens. The neck of the vessel is decorated with a bucranion and wreath, one of the first of its kind. Below the neck are two horizontal grooves followed by a semicircular pattern below which are two more horizontal lines.

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1. Strong, op.cit. p.100.

2. L. Byvanch-Quarles van Ufford, A Propos d'un Vase a Heidelberg, BABESCH XXXV, 1957, p.62. Fig.1. Height 7.6.cm. diametre 9.5.cm.

The rest of the body is decorated with the long petal pattern. A similar clay vase, lacking however the bucranion ornament around the neck was found at Thebes.[1] These vases have been dated in the 3rd century B.C.[2] The Aegina vase[3] is made of clear thick glass with a greenish-tinge. The lower body is rounded and decorated with eight almond shaped lobes pointing downwards and lotus leaves which have a central rib. Above this, just where the tall flaring neck starts are two horizontal grooves. The decoration of this beaker is closely related to the Erskine bowl and the eggshaped bowl studied previously. The shape is well attested in metalwork, and becomes very popular in Greece, especially Thrace and Macedonia, in the 4th century B.C. The Aegina vase can be compared to two silver vases found in tomb B' of Derveni and dated in the 4th century B.C.[4] and to another vase found at Nikisiani dated as well in the 4th century B.C.since three staters of Philip II were found in the tomb5 This vessel on the basis of its shape and decoration could be dated in the second half of the fourth century B.C. or possibly in the beginning of the third.

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1. BABESCH, XXXV, 1957, Fig.2. p.63.
2. ibid, p.64.
3. B.M.No.95. 10-7.1.
4. Exhibited at the Salonica Museum.
5. Exhibited at the Museum of Kavalla A. 2586, B.C.H. LXXXIV,1960.

PLATE 17

a

b

Form c.

The Ithaca vase (Plate ) is yet a further stage in the development of the deep bowl. The body of this vase is decorated with a series of alternating lotus and palmettes leaves, in between which are set a series of almond shaped bosses. The neck shoulder is decorated with a cable pattern followed by a guilloche, after which follows a second cable pattern. This type of calyx is found on Meganan bowls[1] dated in the 2nd century B.C. Therefore, although the shape might have earlier examples the decoration places the vase in the 2nd century B.C.

Beakers.2+3

In the Archaelogical Museum of Salonica there is a glass beaker (height 9,2.cm. ring diameter 11.1cm) found at the Derveni tomb. This beaker has a flaring rim and tapers downwards, with a slightly convex bottom, which was partly broken but nicely restored. The lower part of the beaker is decorated with fourteen horizontal grooves, above which are twelve almond lobes in relief, pointing downwards; above this band two more horizontal ribs decorate the vessel. The rim section is plain. Von Saldern[4] refers to these lobes as "fins" and suggested that the "finned" bowls were probably made with the "lost wax".

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1. H. Thompson, Hesperia III.

2. J.G.S. XII 1970. p.9.

3. Ch. Makaronas Archaeologikon Deltion, 1963. 18.B.2. p.193. B.C.H. 89. 1965. p.807. A. Oliver, op.cit. Note.1. p.13.

4. J.G.S. I. 1959.p.2.

or "cire perdu" casting but pressing would have been used as well. Moreover it is possible that the lathe work was occasionally used in finishing.[1] The glass is thickish but clear with a greenish tinge on its upper part and a brownish tinge on its lower. Among the objects found in this extremely rich tomb was a triobolon of Philip II,[2] which dates the tomb in the second half of the 4th century B.C.

On the Persepolis reliefs beakers are offered to the Great King by the Median and Bactrian delegation.[3] The body of the Bactrian beakers are decorated with horizontal ribs just as is our Derveni object. Furthermore, horizontal grooves adorn a glass fragment from Persepolis.[4] Horizontal ribs are seen on a bent rhyton from Hamadam.[5] On another from the Oxus,[6] as well as on a gold jug.[7] All these objects have been dated in the 5th century B.C. Phialai decorated with lobes have been datedas we have seen previously in the middle of the 4th century B.C. At Gordion a fragment of clear glass with a slight green tinge was found. The decoration on this fragment is similar to that of the Derveni beaker, with only one difference: the almond shaped lobes are connected "by two finely engraved horizontal lines and intersection arches.[8]

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1. A.D.H. Bivar "A Rosette Phiale inscribed in Aramaic" B.S.O.A.S. XXIV, Part2, 1961. p.197.

2. Ch. Makaronas, Archaiologikon Deltion, 1963, 18 B'2, p.184

3. G. Walser, Die Volkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis, Berlin 1966, Tafel 33, and 35.

4. C.F.Schmidt, Persepolis II, Plate 67, 11.

5. E. Porada,The Art of Ancient Iran, Plate 47.

6. O.M. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus,No.178, Plate XXII

7. Dalton, ibid, No.17. Plate VII

8. A. von Saldern, J.G.S. I, 1959, p.35, Fig 15.

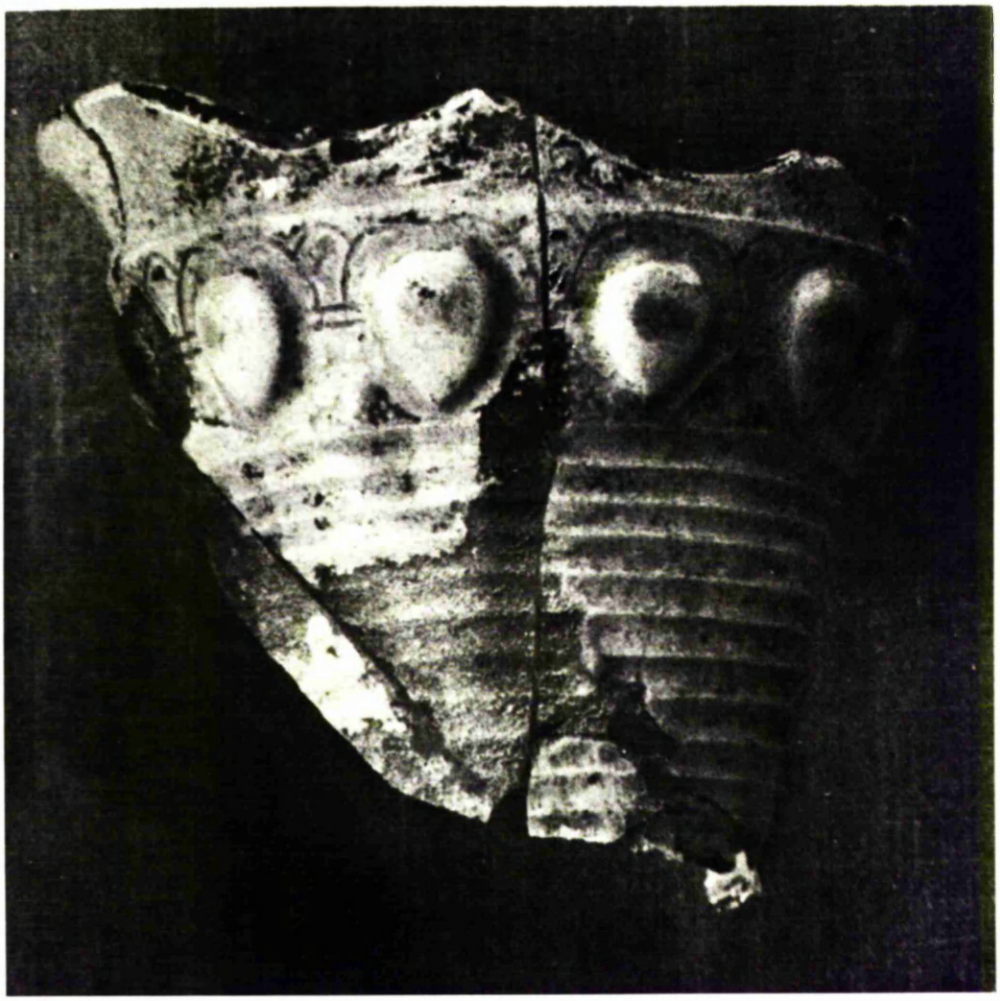

PLATE 18

PLATE 19

The fragments of this vessel are dated before 250 B.C. (Plate 18). Von Saldern thought that the original shape of this vessel was similar to that of the Aegina vase. We would rather think that the Gordion fragment is similar to the Derveni in shape just as it is to the beaker of the Ashmolean. (Plate 19). The latter's provenence is unknown. The walls of this vessel are decorated with horizontal ribs and its bottom is flat. Above the ribbing is a band of twelve lobes with a very attractive lotus and palmette design. A similar design decorates the rim of the Stara Zagora beakers. The Ashmolean beaker which compares partly with the Stara-Zagora beakers and partly with the Gordion fragment and the Derveni glass could be, therefore, dated either towards the end of the 5th century B.C. or early 4th.

PLATE 20

Conclusion.

We have left the rhytons out since they have been dealt with so thoroughly by Hoffmann,[1] who suggested that they became wellknown in Greece after the Persian Wars. We would like, however, to mention a bent rhyton which ends in the protome of a bull and has been found in Samos.[3] (Plate 20). This drinking vessel has been dated in the 7th century B.C. and can be compared to one example in New York[2] dated in the 7th century The Samos rhyton, however, has a longer neck and is something between bent and horn. It is possible that relations between the Greeks and the Iranian people, Medis for instance, were established through the intermediary of the Lydians much before the Empire of the Achaemenids.

The Other Achaemenid shapes which are attested in Greece are the phiale, the deep bowl, the vases and the beaker. The decoration of these vessels derives as well from the Achaemenid prototypes. It is interesting to notice that for the 5th century B.C. we have actual replicas of vessels that are shown on the Persepolis reliefs. (Athens Geroulanos collection). This came about because Achaemenid court style spread throughout the empire and was probably imitated in the different satrapies. There it influenced the local crafts so that by the fourth century B.C. we find variations of Achaemenid prototypes throughout the Mediterranean.

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1. Antike Kunst, I. p.21-26.

2. ibid. Plate 10,5

3. G. Kopcke, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenisch Abteilung, Band 83, 1968, No.113. p.289. BABESCH, 1970. A Propos des rhytons a protome d'animal p.90-97.

Furthermore, we are since more able to see the symmetry that exists between the crafts in the Achaemenid world where shapes were reproduced in silver, glass, bronze and clay.

During the 4th century B.C. there is a marked preference for shapes which are decorated either with long leaves, with lotus leaves or with lobes and lotus. Furthermore, the Greek burials point to a same date for the development of these designs.

## A PERSIAN BRACELET FROM CORINTH.

In Greece jewellery is part of the sculptural arts, here gold and silver was given the plastic quality one finds in Greece's major arts. Greeks however, did not wear rich jewells; it is mainly the gods that received them as presents. During the early 5th century bracelets or earrings were adorned at both ends, with human and animal motifs, knobs or pyramids, often granulation or filigree was used to adorn such pieces.[1]

Among the Persians, however, it was customary to wear expensive jewellery. Herodotus informs us that of all the troops the Persians were adorned with the greatest magnificence.[2] Very few pieces of Achaemenid jewellery have been found in Greece. Apart from two bracteates which will be discussed in the next chapter only a bracelet found at the Isthmus of Corinth in 1887[3] and now in the Museum of Karlsruhe has Achaemenid parallels. (Plate 21, 21a). The stem of this gold bracelet is flat and hollow with a recess in the middle. The hollow area was probably filled with some other material. In its two extremities the bracelet is decorated with lions with opened mouths out of which come the head of two goats. A ring

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1. G.M. Richter, "A Handbook of Greek Art, London, 1959, p.255.

2. Herodotus, VII, 83. ..

3. P. Jacobsthal, Early Celtic Art, pp.32-36. No.6. P. Amandry, Orfèvrerie Achémenide, Antike Kunst, I. p.12. Plate 10,12,18.

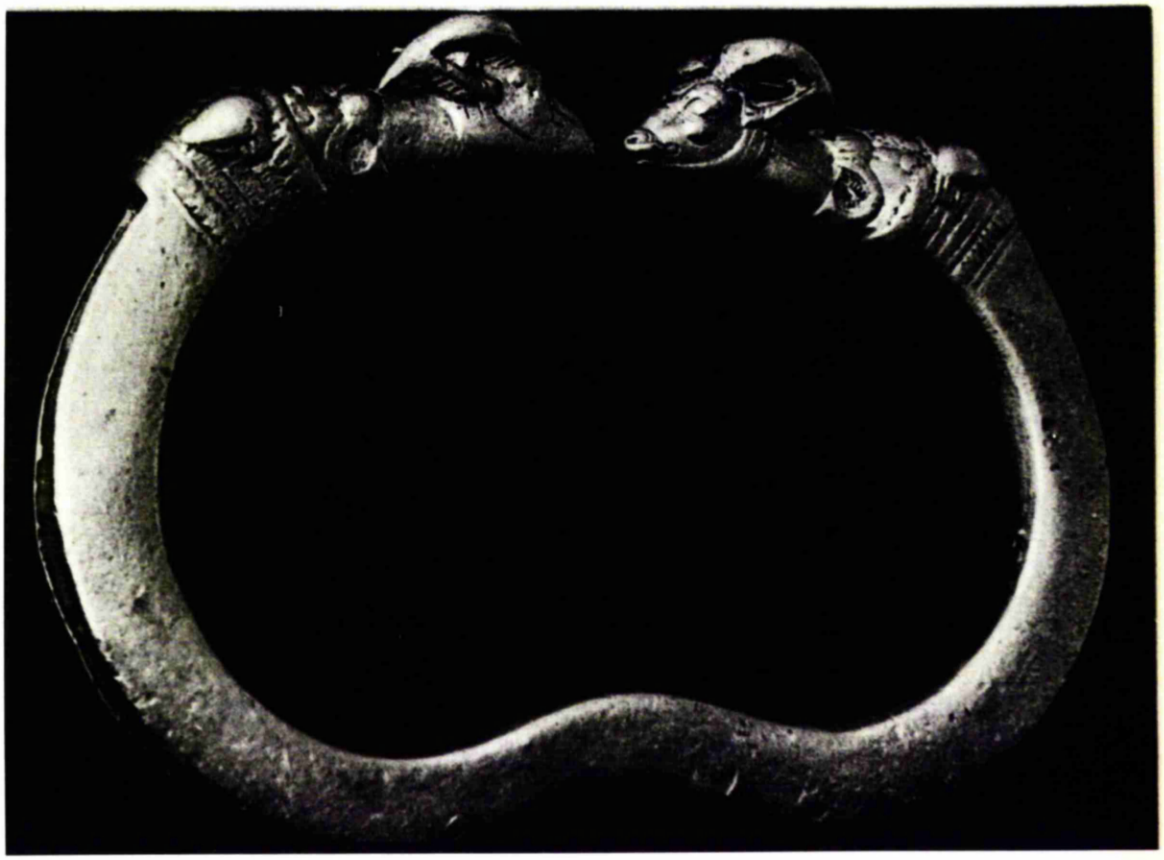
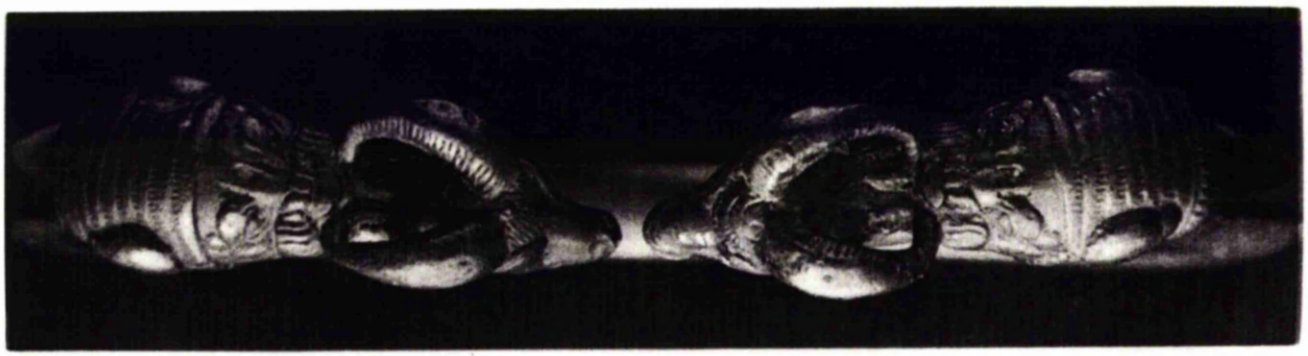


PLATE 21

PLATE 21a



incised with deep parallel lines seperates the decoration from the stem. The lion's mane is shown through seven parallel zones in relief incised with lines. The horns of the goat join on top of its head, thus forming a very attractive curve; these are incised with parallel lines as well. Comparable to the Corinth bracelet is one decorated with a voracious lion whose prey is a sheep. At Teheran was purchased a curving stem which forms a circle on one end and finishes in the head of a sheep or calf while the other it is decorated with a lion who holds a swan. Both of these objects have the same type of stylised decoration. Similar incisions decorate the head of calves which adorn a pair of bracelets from Vouni. On the Persepolis reliefs it is the Scythians who carry bracelets with calves protome.[1] On the other bracelets Persepolis[2] the stem of the bracelet is used as the body of the animal. On the Vouni and Corinth objects the animal's head has no relation to the actual bracelet except that it decorates its extremities. Truncated animal heads are very common in Scythian art.[3] It is possible that the custom to decorate objects with truncated animal heads was introduced in Persia by the Scythians. The Vouni[4] bracelet can be dated in the fourth century B.C. The truncated animal heads as we shall see

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1. G. Walser. Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis, Plate 58.
2. ibid Plate 47.
3. G. Brovka, Scythian Art, New York, 1926. Plates 5,6,8,17.
4. Swedish Cyprus Expedition, III, Pl. VI XCI 3,7,10. XCII.

in the next chapter have a 4th century date it is possible that the late 5th or early 4th century date could be assigned to the Corinth bracelet.

## THE IMPORT AND ARTISTIC INFLUENCE OF ACHAEMENID TEXTILES IN GREECE.

In this chapter we shall first discuss the question of carpets and textiles from the Achaemenid Empire and their relation to Greek art, and then deal with the introduction of silk into Greece.

After the battle of Plataea, the tent that Xerxes had left to Mardonius on his retreat from Greece, was captured by the Greeks.[1] This tent was adorned with the greatest magnificence; coloured tapestries, and gorgeous ornaments in silver and gold hung from its walls; gold and silver couches draped with beautiful textiles and gold and silver tables completed the interior decoration of this extraordinary pavillion which now belonged to the Greek cities that contributed to this victory. Carpets were known to the Greeks even before the Persian Wars.[2] The ceiling of the second chamber of the tomb at Orchomenos imitates a carpet.[3] Due, however, to their foreign origin and their high price they were considered as objects of great luxury which befitted the gods.[4] It is only after the Persian wars that they became more usual. We are informed that the

1. Herodotus, Historiae, Oxford Classical Texts, 1966, IX 70, 80, 82.

2. Homer, Iliad, Loeb Classical Library, I,200; IX,200; X,156 Odyssey, Loeb Classical Library, IV, 124.

3. G. Perrot et Ch. Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquite, Paris, 1894, VI, Fig 221. p.544.

4. Aeschylus, Agamemnon, Loeb Classical Library, 909-920.

Greeks of the Anabasis brought with them carpets, and Timasion presented Senthes with a silver phiale and a carpet, worth ten minas.[1] Xenophon reported that the Persians, after having become acquainted with Median luxury, began to use carpets.[2] It is interesting to notice that in one passage he uses the word, pilon, or felt-cloth, while in the other he uses the ordinary word, dapides, for carpet. Felt is a charachteristic material of the nomads and carpets with applied patches of felt are well attested in the tombs of Pazyzyk.[3] It is probable that Scythian techniques were borrowed by the Medes, when for a time they were under Scythian rule.[4] The dapides would then refer to the carpets made in the gobelin technique which has a Western asiatic origin.[5] When the Persians became masters of the Near East, they inherited all these different customs and traditions. These, either during peace or war were transmitted to new nations. Persian carpets, were much appreciated by the Greeks and we learn that the Ptolemies adorned their Palaces with Persian carpets depicting animals.[6]

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1. Xenophon, Anabosis, Loeb Classical Library, VII, iii, 18,27.
2. Xenophon, Cyropaideia,Loeb Classical Library, VIII, 8,16; V, 5,7.
3. S.I.Rudenko, Frozen Tombs of Siberia, translated by M.W. Thompson, London 1970, Plates 147, 148, 154, 160, 161, 162,
4. Hdt. op.cit. I, 130.1.
5. Rudenko, op.cit. p.299. R.D. Barnett & W. Watson,"The World's Oldest Carpet", Illustrated London News, July, 11,1953.
6. Athenaeus, Loeb Classical Library, V, 197.b.

At Dion[1] in Macedonia a wall painting divided into three registers decorates a chamber tomb. The lower zone of this frieze represents lion heads set within a triagular pattern; the central zone shows a procession of animals, probably lions; only the front feet of the animal have survived; the upper register is decorated with geometrical designs; circles set within a triangular pattern.

Central Register: The Walking Lion.

On the Persepolis reliefs the walking lion motif is seen on the hem of the King's garment[2] as well as on the cloth which adorns the King's canopy.[3] The same representation has been found on a cloth band, from barrow 5 of Pazyzyk[4] which is worked in the gobelin technique. The lions are shown moving in even step with open mouth and raised curving tail; they have the characteristic stylized muscle shoulder, well attested in Achaemenid metalwork which may be called the pear and apple motif,[5] as well as the stylized thigh muscle, sometimes shown as a dot or as a bow and dot.

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1. G. Soteriades, "Excavations at Dion, Macedonia", Praktika tēs Archaeologiki Etaerias, 1930. p.44. J. Boardman, "Travelling Rugs" Antiquity,XLIV, 1970, p.143.

2. E.F. Schmidt, Persepolis I, Chicago,1953, Plate 142

3. op.cit. Plate 79. The lions on the hem of the robe are engraved while the ones on the canopy are in slight relief. This differentiation is probably intentional in order to show the difference between embroidery or woven decoration and bracteates.

4. S.I.Rudenko, op.cit. Plate 177A, p.298.

5. O.M. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus, Fig.11; Antike Kunst I,Fig 4. Edith Porada, The Art of Ancient Iran, Pl.47. A. Roes,"Achaemenid Influence upon Egyptian and Nomad Art", Artibus Asiae,XV,1952.p.18.

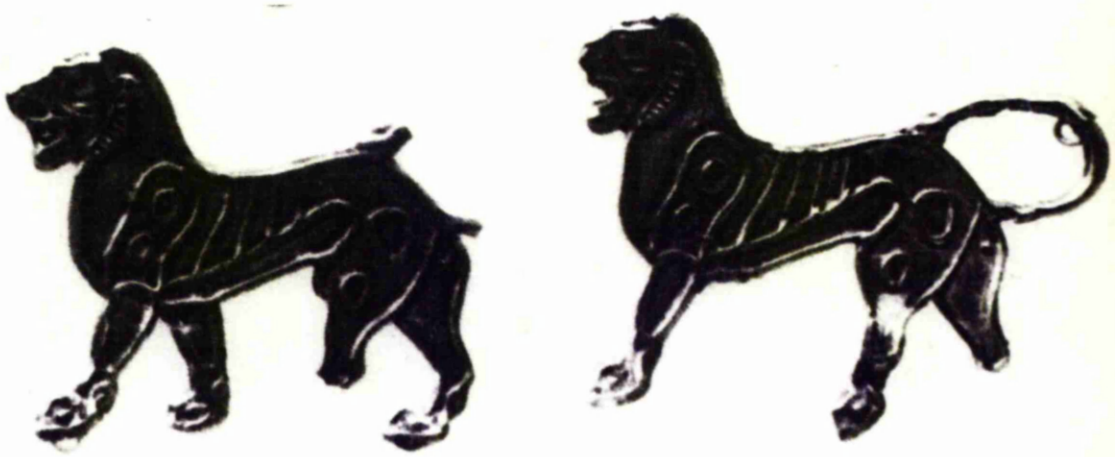

PLATE 22

Similar lions decorated once the walls of the Palace at Susa.[1] Two bracteates, in the shape of a walking lion were found in Dodone[2] and Samothrace[3] (Plate 22). They both have several loops on their reverses, in order to be sewn onto textiles; either for hanging[4] or garments. In Scythian graves these attachments are very common.[5] In the Oxus[6] treasure such plaques are well attested as well and the collection of the Chicago Oriental Institute has many such examples, among which a group of walking lions.[7] The Chicago bracteates consist of examples facing both right and left; probably they were sewn symmetrically on the textiles, just as on the canopy of Darius.[8] The bodies of the two animals found in Greece are arranged to form cavities where coloured stone or peste was inlaid. The so-called 'cloisonné' technique is well attested in the Oxus treasure,[9] and at the Susa burial,[10] where a coin of Aradus dates the burial to the end of the fourth century B.C. It is difficult to say how these ornaments reached Greece. The one from Samothrace was found

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1. Encyclopedie Photographique de l'Art du Louvre II, p.52-53
2. B.C.H. 80, 1956, p.300. Fig 2.
3. P. Williams-Lehmann, Samothrace 1965, Archaeologikon Deltion 21, 1966, B'2, p.382. Plate 404 c.
4. Hdt, op.cit, Book IX, 80, tent of Mardonius adorned with gold and silver.
5. E.H.Mimms, Scythians and Greeks, New York, 1965, Part One, p.157. Fig 76, Fig 84. p.192.
6. Dalton, op.cit. Nos. 26-36, 37, 38, 39.
7. H. Kantor, Achaemenid Jewellry in the Oriental Institute, Oriental Institute Museum Notes No.8. p.5. reprinted from J.N.E.S. XVI No.1. January 1957.
8. Persepolis I, Plate 79, H. Kantor, ibid, p.6.
9. Dalton, op.cit. Plate XVII, 118, XVIII, 120, XIX, 133, XX,132,136. XII, 178.
10. Délegation en Perse, Memoires Publiées sous la direction de M. J. de Morgan, VIII, 1905, pp.29.-58.

in the rubble of the Daric temple.[1] They could have remained in Greece after the Persian Wars and dedicated to the sanctuaries or could have been brought from some part of the Achaemenid Empire by Greek mercenaries who followed Alexander in his campaign.

Till now we found the walking lion motif on the walls of the tomb of Dion, on the robe and canopy of the Persian King in Persepolis, at Pazyryk, on bracteates found in Greece and on some plaques at the Chicago Oriental collection. From Greece, however, we have one more example of this motif; A few years ago in a bronze kalpis from Koropi, were found ten fragments of textiles five of which were once embroidered[2] (Plate 23).

The Greek craftsmen who embroidered the Koropi textile must have been familiar with certain Achaemenid designs through seals, bracteates, or even textiles. In general, stylistic links can be perceived between embroidery and other crafts. This may have come about from natural observation as well as from the use of specially prepared designs.[3] The Koropi textile (Plate 23)

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1. P. Williams-Lehmann, op.cit. p.382.

2. John Beckwith, "Textile fragments from Classical Antiquity". Illustrated London News, January 23, 1954.

3. M. Schuette-Sigrid Müller-Christensen, The Art of Embroidery, London, 1964, p.vii.

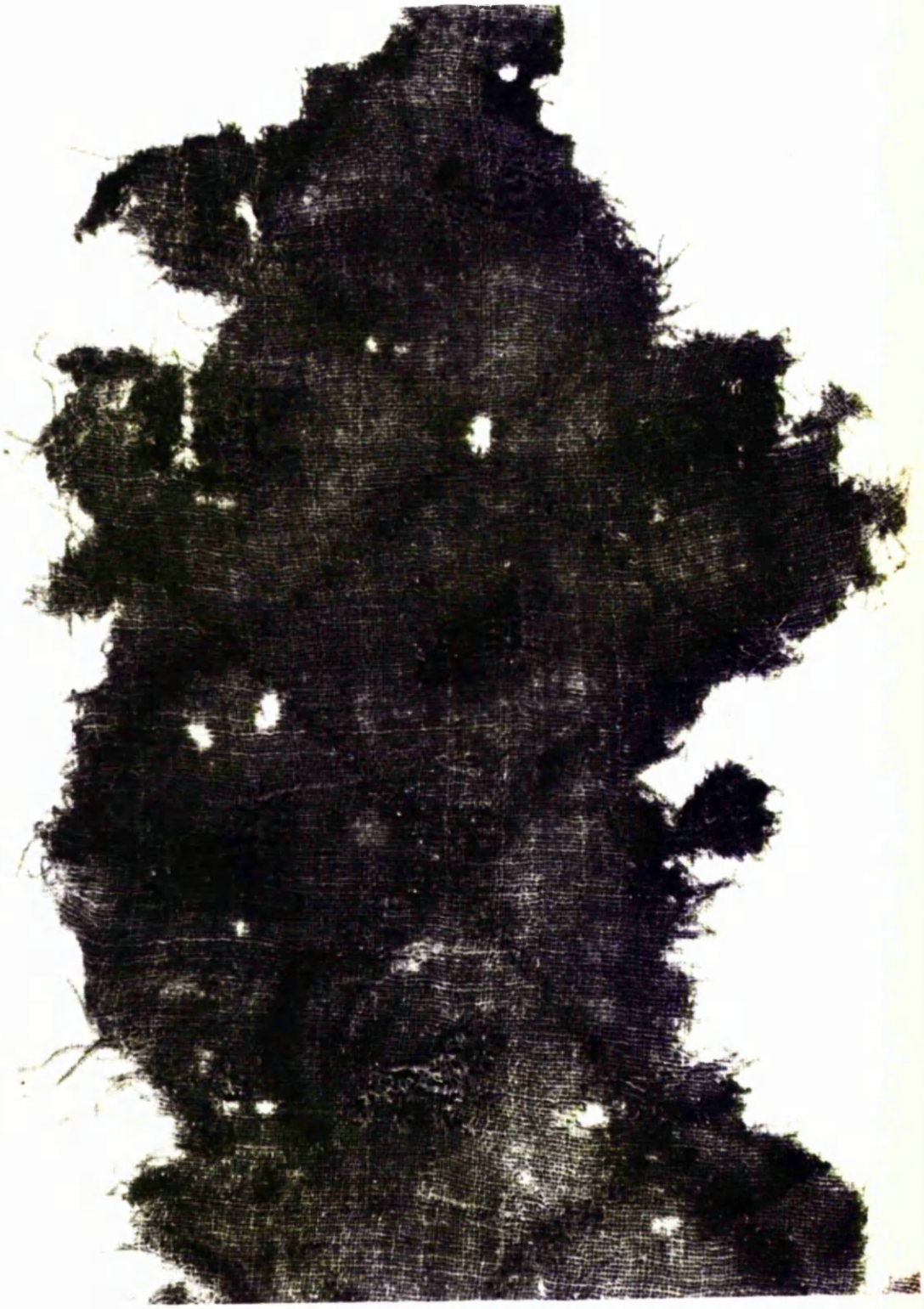

PLATE 23

has a diaper design, with each lozenge containing a walking lion with uplifted paw, curved tail and open mouth. The lozenge dimensions are 35 mm. in height x 41 mm. in width, and those of the lion 8 mm. from head to foot, 13 mm fron nose to tail. The lozenge pattern can be seen on the trousers and sleeves of Persians on a vase from Kul Oda[1], as well as on the trousers of three Amazons on a vase at the Metropolitan Museum[2]. The Koropi lion, however, is not only walking but simultaneously lifts his paw, a posture well attested inIran amongst the seated animals[3] or the standing lions set in a round disc or on seals. Sometimes the animals who lift their front paws turn their heads backwards[4]. The greek artist by trying to combine two different Achaemenid conventions, endowed his animal with movement which the Achaemenid artist was not interested in rendering. An inscription from Artemis Bravronia mentions a coverlet with animals raising their paws[5]. Schuette[6] has remarked that

> " The embroidery thread has fallen out and the pattern is now traceable only from the holes left by the needle, so that the technique of the embroidery cannot be determined. Traces of gold and silver have been discovered by analysis and this in conjunction with remains of textile fibres, which could be linen or silk, suggest a metal strip wound round the thread. "

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1. Minns, op.cit. p.201. Fig 94.
2. G.M. Richter, Red-Figured Athenian Vases, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Haven, 1936, II, Plate 108
3. Dalton, op.cit. Plate XII, 28, Persepolis I, Plate 29.
4. J. Boardman, Greek Gems & Finger Rings, London 1870, Nos. 824.838.839. 834. Dalton op.cit. Plate XII,28. Persepolis II, Plate 18,Pt.3.218.Pt.7. 368.
5. I.G.Editio Minor, Vol, II, III, 1 514, line 34-35
6. Schuette, op.cit. p.297.

Probably the Greek artists had in mind a metallic object similar to the ones of Dodone and Samothrace, whose aspect he tried to reproduce by the use of metallic thread. The Koropi textile has been dated to the end of the fifth century B.C. Before we proceed to a more general discussion, we should like to come back to Dion and discuss the lower register of the mural paintings as well as the procession of the mounted horsemen, which adorned the marble of the funerary couch.

Lion Heads.

As already mentioned the lower zone is decorated with a series of lion heads with open mouths. Their stylized mane ends up nicely the motif. Some bracteates at the Chicago Oriental collection are shaped in a similar way.[1] The mane here forms a "frilly circular border"[2] which rounds up the design in a very attractive manner, Such lion heads are depicted on a glazed tile from Susa, reproduced in Miss Kantor's article.[3] Truncated animal heads are found on seal impressions from Ur. The use of the truncated animal is typical of Scythian art. Furthermore, these motives were not limited to the Western Scythians but are found in Siberia and Central Asia.[4] Borovka illustrates truncated lion heads (Plate 16) very early, an example of which can be seen

1. H. Kantor, op.cit. p.8.Plate VI B.

2. ibid. p.8.

3. ibid. Fig.7.

4. G. Borovka, Scythian Art, New York, 1928, Plate 5,6,8,17, A.D.Rudenko op.cit. Plate 110 D.E.F. 104. B.C.F. Hancar, "The Eurasion Animal Style and the Altai Complex" Artibus Asiae, XV, 1952. Page.176.Fig.1,3

on felt carpet from Pazyryk, where the lion heads are applied.[1] Therefore, the wall decorations of Dion come from two different traditions. One was from "applied to felt decorations" characteristic of the Scythians, while the walking lion is a borrowing from a carpet worked in the gobelin technique used in Babylon as early as the 8th century B.C.[2]

The mounted horsemen which decorate the funerary couch ride from left to right.[3] Two horsemen wear the Median dress while the third is dressed in the Greek manner. The style of this painting is Greek and its liveness contrasts with the austerity of the wall painting. A similar Persian horseman can be seen on a textile from the Seven Brothers burial, which has been dated in the 4th century B.C.[4] On a gold comb from the Solokha tumulus a horseman wearing Persian gear but a Greek helmet seems to fight with two other soldiers both of whom wear the Median dress.[5] On a silver cup from the same tomb a similar horseman is hunting a lion.[6] From Pazyryk[7] we have a beautiful carpet which shows a procession of such horsemen. This, however, lacks the naturalism and movement of the Greek design.

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1. Rudenko, op.cit. Plate. 148 A.
2. Rudenko, op.cit. p.299. ILN. July 11, 1953.
3. G. Soteriades, op.cit. pp.43-44.
4. Minns, op.cit. p.336. Fig. 224.
5. M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks in South Russia, Oxford,1922. Plate XIX.
6. ibid. Plate XX.
7. Rudenko, op.cit. Plate 174.

Dating.

The Dion tomb has been dated by the excavators around 300 B.C.[1] Recently a 3rd century date has been suggested apparently on architectural grounds the second half of the century seems more appropriate.[2] This, however, does not necessarily apply to the carpets which the artist copied with the wish to reproduce the home of the deceased for carpets often last more than one generation. The Dion tomb however, provides us with a terminus ante quem for those designs.

Both the walking lion and the lion head motif represent the Achaemenid court style and are found in Susa and Persepolis. The Persepolis representations provide a terminus post quem so that any date between the 5th and the 3rd century could be possible. The similarities however in the treatment between the Pazyryk carpet and the lions represented on the canopy of Darius as well as those of Susa would suggest a possible 5th century date. The fan-like lion heads from Susa were not found in a specific context so they cannot be dated.[3] The seal impressions from Ur,[4] however, which represent such decorations have been dated in the late 5th or early 4th century B.C. We, therefore, see that for both motives

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1. Soteriades, op.cit. p.37.
2. Boardmann, op.cit. p.143.
3. Kantor, op.cit. p.19.
4. L. Legrain, Ur Excavations, Vol.X. Seal Cylinders, Pls.XLI 781; XLII 808, 809. (Publications of the joint Expedition of the British Museum and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia, London and Philadelphia, 1951).

we have a 5th century horizon. It should be noticed however, that the Dion carpets could be local imitations of earlier ones, which might have reached Macedonia in the course of the 5th century B.C. Still it is clear that the painters who imitated them or the family that commissioned him to do so must have considered them objects of great merit. Furthermore, these murals might point out that the deceased or his family had some special relations with the Achaemenid Empire. The combination of the fan-like head as a border for the main scene which is the walking lion, would seem to be a convention invented by the Macedonian artist for in Persepolis it is usually geometrical designs supplemented by plants that end up the animal pattern. This new convention however, gives an organic unity to the Dion animal frieze. Both the Pazyryk carpets and the reliefs of Persepolis which can be really properly understood only if they are considered as an ornamental tapestry hung over the walls,[1] show no organic relation between the registers and ought to be read separately, zone after zone.

These designs could have reached Greece in different ways. They could have remained here after the Persian Wars or could have been given as presents to Macedonian dignitaries by Persian high officials since Macedonia was allied to Persia for a time. Moreover, commercial exchanges could hace brought them to the mainland or soldiers coming from the Achaemenid realm.

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1. Kantor, op.cit. p.2.

One more possible way is via the "Scythic continuum" especially for the fan-like heads which are applied to felt. The Northern Greeks had friendly relations with their Scythian neighbours. Furthermore, during the 5th century B.C. there was a flourishing trade between Greece and the Black Sea cities, where Greeks might have purchased such carpets.

Once more we attest a marked uniformity between the applied and major arts of the Achaemenids. Furthermore, we see that the Achaemenid court style once achieved was introduced to the most eastern and western confines of this empire and in its turn influenced the local artists.

Miss Richter[1] suggests that silk was already used by the Persians and was introduced in Greece after the Persian Wars. She further suggests that under the appellations amorgis one is to understand a reference to silk which was given this name because the island of Amorgos lay on the trade route by which this raw silk was imported.

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1. Silk in Greece, American Journal of Archaeology, XXXIII, 1929. No.1. p.27.ff.

In Greek texts the word for silk is 'ser'. This word, however, is first attested in Pausanias[1], except for one instance of it in Strabo[2]. The Seres produced silken stuffs and we are informed that they were a Scythian tribe[3]. It has been thought that these Seres dwelt around lake Issyk-Kul[4]. As W. Tarn suggests "if they lived in the lake Issyk-Kul country and were the nearest middlemen to the Bactrian Greeks from the Chinese as well as the Siberian trade, it is easy to see how at a later time the name of the middlemen on the route was transferred by Greek, or Greek-speaking merchants, to the silk producing people at the end of it"[5].

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1. Pausanias VI, 519
   Pausanias, Guide to Greece II, translated by P. Levi, p.366.

   Pausanias' geography is extremely vague. The word Abasa could be the Greek rendering of Iranian Abar-Sahr (ʾbrš'r) equivalent τοτῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν of Seleucid times (Hellenica vii, 149,23) taken up by the Arsacids and later by the Sasanians (ḫmh'pr ḫštr = πάντα τὰ ἀνωτάτω ἔθνη ) and probably used already by theAchaemenids. This was probably a vague designation of the eastern parts of the Empire, according to W.B.Henning, who further suggests "dass gegen Ende der Regierungszeit der Arsakiden, der Name ihrer Stammprovinz (Parthien) auch im einheimischen Sprachgebrauch auf die gesamten von ihnen direkten verwalteten lander ausgedehnt wurde und zwar besonders auf Medien". The Sakaia probably are the Sakas who reached Arachosia and the Indus in the first century A.D. (A.D.H. Bivar Zentralasien p.52). Herodotus mentions (iii 93, vii,70,5) Asian Ethiopians who were associated in the army of Xerxes with the Indians, and probably dwelt in what is now Baluchistan. The writer would like to suggest that Pausanias in fact describes one of the courses that the silk trade took in the second century A.D. and refers to the different regions which took an active part in this trade.

2. Strabo, Geography, Loeb Classics, 15, 20. C 694.

3. Dionysius Periegetes. Περιήγησις τῆς Οἰκουμένης . v. 752

4. W.W.Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, Cambridge, 1951. p.11. Note 3. The Yueh-chi found there a Saka people called Sai-wang.

5. ibid. p.111.

A similar process probably took place in the fifth century B.C. We should like to suggest that the Saka Haumawargah, who may have acted as middlemen between the Chinese and the Persians, gave their name to the material they traded, and that this name was later identified with that of a Greek island.

The Amyrgian Sakah formed one contingent with the Bactrians in the army of Xerxes,[1] and are mentioned in the Old Persian inscriptions.[2] In Darius Naqs-i-Rustam and the Darius Susa they are referred to after the Indian satrapy and, together with the Tigragauda[3] occupy the fourteenth and fifteenth places in the list. In Xerxes Persepolis they are mentioned after the Daha who dwelt on the Eastern shores of the Caspian sea. We could assume that the Haumawargah probably dwelt on the northern confines of the Aral Sea, by the Jaxartes. Cyrus the Great had extended Achaemenid rule till the Jaxartes where the former built his city, Cyropolis,[4] and where he finally met his death, in the hands of the Messegetae who dwelt further north. It is very possible that one of the constituent tribes of these nomads were the Haumawargah who are constantly mentioned in the Old Persian inscriptions.[5]

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1. Herodotus VII 64, 10.

2. Darius Naqs-i-Rustam, Darius Susa, Xerxes Persepolis, h. Kent, Old Persian Inscriptions.

3. Is the translation of O.P. Tigraxauda (Hdt. III 92)

4. E. Benveniste, La Ville de Cyreschata, J.A. 1943.-5. p. 163-6.

5. A.D.H. Bivar, Central Asia, London 1969. p.24-25. where he dismisses the evidence on the introduction of peaches and apricots from China during the reign of Darius.

Herodotus' information about the "Scythic continuum"[1] points to the existence of a well established northern caravan route[2]. The trade route from the Black Sea passed far to the North, crossed the Urals and reached the basins of the Tobol, Ishim and Istysh, east of the Urals[3]. From there it came down from almost a N.W. direction and continuing the line we are brought to Dzungaria, and the country about Kuldza, described as lying beneath lofty mountains, the Altai on one side and the T'ien Shan on the other[4]. From the Black Sea goods could be shipped to the Greek world, and it is from the Pontic trading towns that Herodotus probably derived his information[5]. Another route was that through the Balkans, where friendly relations between the Scythians and the Thracian kingdoms were established[6] and of course by sea through the Anatolian trading ports. This "Scythian continuum" which extended from the river Tearos to the confines of China must have helped the commercial exchanges between East and West. Recently at Stara-Zagora[7], a Chinese sword sling in jade was found, which could be dated to the fourth century B.C.[8] although the burial where this object was found has been dated to the first century B.C. it is still possible that the Chinese sling reached Thrace at an earlier date.

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1. W. Watson, Inner Asian and China in the Pre-Han Period. p.18.
2. We can trace this trade route with Herodotus' list of peoples. Book IV, 21-32. E.H.Minns, op.cit. Part.1.p.106-112.
3. Minns, op.cit. p.107.
4. Hdt. IV, 23. Minns, op.cit. p.108.
5. Hdt. IV.24.
6. Hdt. IV 71-82.
7. I.L.N. December 31st, 1966. Fig.6.
8. I owe this information to Miss.M. Medley (Perceival David Foundation)

The Pazyryk valley , where a group of five large and several small stone-heaped mounds was discovered, lies near the junction of the Ulagan and Belyktyul rivers in the region now called Gorny Altai[1]. The art of Pazyryk is influenced by imports from the West as appears from the winged beings[2] and mythical or real animals attaching one another[3]. Some of these motifs point to contacts with the West independent of Persia. One of the most interesting discoveries, however, were the silk fragments found in barrows three and five[4]. Plain silk with linen weave occured in a pouch the yarn was unspun silk. A kind of tussore used for covering a shabrack in barrow five had the same weave, while in barrow three a more complicated patterned silk was found[5]. Finally in a barrow[4] which is contemporary with three and five, a Chinese Tsin mirror was found[6], which has been dated by the excavator to the fifth century B.C[7]. From these finds it is clear that the Pazyryk Scythians had contacts with both the Chinese and the West as we saw before. It could be they who had direct contacts with the Chinese, and afterwards passed the goods to the most easterly Sakas, the Haumawarga[h].

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1. I.L.N. July 11th, 1953.
2. Rudenko p.307.
3. I.L.N. January 1st, 1955. Kantor, op.cit. p.3.
4. Rudenko p.294.
5. Rudenko p.206. Plate 134A.B.
6. Rudenko Plate 70C,.Fig.55.
7. Rudenko p.305.

In the fifth century B.C., Athens had an active trade with the Black Sea. There some inquisitive Greek might have learned that this expensive material was brought all the way from the Saka Haumawarga. That could be the reason why, by the time of Aristophanes, we no longer find the appellation "Medic" which was used by Herodotus[1] for what was considered one of the most valuable presents, but instead "amorginis"[2], mentioned also by Plato, who refers to this likewise as very expensive.[3] Further-more, it is interesting that candys is coupled with amorgis in an inscription.[4]

Later, writers and lexicographers, having lost the beginning of the thread, tried apparently to explain the word by relating it to the Greek island of Amorgos, which produced cheap colour and linokalami out of which garments were made[5], that could hardly justify Plato's remark.

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1. Hdt. I. 135, III 84; VII 116, Procopius, History of the Wars, Leob Classical Library I, XX,9.
2. Aristophanes, Lysistrata, Loeb, line 150.
3. Epistles, XII,Oxford Edition.
4. I.G. Editio Minor Vol II, III, 1524. line 217.
5. Suidas Lexicon, Amorgos.

## C O N C L U S I O N

That Achaemenid goods did reach Greece this we already know from the narrative of the ancient historians. We did not know, however, the impact that these imports had on Greece.

After the Persian Wars the Achaemenid artifacts that remained in Greece were mainly luxury objects which entered the temple treasuries or became items used in religious rituals; for instance the throne of Xerxes and other spoils were dedicated to the Goddess and carried in the Panathenaic processions.[1] The Tent of Xerxes[2] was probably used as stage during the early years of Greek tragedy. It is during the 4th century B.C. that luxury goods became more common and especially during the period of Alexander the Great. Furthermore, it would appear that such instances were much more common in northern Greece where eastern influence was more marked and where Hellenic civilisation was an import and not indigenous. Why was this the case?
The main reason may well be that Persia and Greece had diametrically

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1. D.B. Thompson 4, page I.

2. Broneer Note 5, page I.

different attitudes firstly as to the nature of man and secondly in their concept of art.

Too much wealth and success will be punished by jealous Deity since success produces Koros and generates arrogance in word and in deed; our best example of this is the carpet scene in Aeschylus Agamemnon where Agamemnon asks his wife to remove the carpets which are manifestation only for the Gods.

Artistically, furthermore, their approaches were radically different. The Greeks aimed at a mimesis of what surrounded them while the Persians shaped and combined isolated motifs in order to form a rhythmic and decorative sequence disregarding naturalistic representation or narrative, therefore, no mutual influence could be achieved for in order to influence you first have to find certain common levels of communication. However, the importance of the contact between the two nations may lie elsewhere. It is possible that it lies in a realm which is inaccessible to the archaeologist:that of ideas.

Before they experienced the power of the Persian King, a power which in their eyes equalled that of the Gods, they believed that the deity increased or diminished at his will, a man's arete, that HE was the prime mover. But once they clashed with this great power and defeated it their concept of God changed. The victory over the Persians helped to forge that anthopocentric consciousness which historians of ideas have traced from Homer to Plato. These are only tentative conclusions but they may help us to seein their right perspective the impact of the Persian Wars and to sound out the necessarily sketchy picture which the archaeological evidence conveys.

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